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NOMINAL COMPOSITION IN TAMIL

DR.G. VIJAYAVENUGOPAL

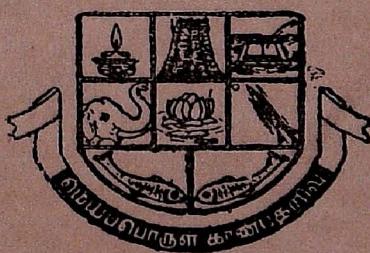
MADURAI KAMARAJ UNIVERSITY

Nominal Composition in Tamil

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1979

MADURAI KAMARAJ UNIVERSITY

Dept. of Tamil Studies Publication No. 23

Linguistics series — 2

First Edition : November, 1979

Published under U.G.C. Scheme

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Price — Rs. 15/-

U. S. \$ 3.

Copies can be had from :

The Madurai Kamaraj University Central Co-operative Stores Ltd,
Madurai-625021., Tamilnadu.

Printed at

Easen Printing Works.

Madurai — 625001.

Acknowledgement

This dissertation was originally submitted to the Annamalai University for the degree of Doctor Philosophy. The degree was awarded in 1975. The same thesis is being published now in a book form with minor corrections suggested by the scrutiny committee appointed by the Madurai Kamaraj University. I thank the committee for accepting this for publication through the University.

I undertook this research under the able guidance of Dr. T. P. Meenakshisundaran, former Professor of Linguistics, Annamalai University. I place in record my sincere thanks to him for his guidance and kind help. After he joined Madurai University as Vice Chancellor Dr. S. Agesthialingom became my supervisor and I am sure without his constant encouragement and able supervision this thesis would not have been completed. Whenever I think about him the famous aphorism in Tamil viz, "paṇpuṭaiyār-p-paṭṭuṇṭu ulaku" comes to my mind. I thank him also for his kind foreword. I thank the authorities of the University Grants Commission for granting me a fellowship during my research at Annamalai University and for granting funds for this publication too.

I sincerely thank Prof. M. Shanmugam Pillai, Head of the Department of Tamil Studies, Madurai Kamaraj University who took great interest in publishing my thesis and also gave a nice foreword.

I thank the authorities of Madurai Kamaraj University for accepting this as a publication of the University. My special thanks are due to Dr. V. SP. Manickam, Vice Chancellor, Madurai Kamaraj University for his keen interest in releasing this book as early as possible.

While I was abroad my wife Mrs. V. Saraswathi took all the responsibility of not only looking after the family but also reading the proof sheets. My heartfelt thanks are due to her. Finally I thank Messers Easen Printers for their fine job.

FOREWORD

Prof. S. Agesthialingom, M.A., Ph.D. [Kerala],
Ph.D. [Indian, USA],
Director, CAS in Linguistics,
Annamalai University.

An important attribute of human language is its productivity or the ability to produce infinite set of utterances with the help of finite set of elements and rules. The study of this productive mechanism of languages constitutes the study of their grammars. Compounding or composition is such a productive process employed by languages. Dr. G. Vijayavenugopal presents in this book a study of the Nominal Composition in Tamil. This book is a revised version of his Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the CAS in Linguistics, Annamalai University.

Dr. Vijayavenugopal follows the Transformational Generative model with necessary modifications to suit the structure of Tamil. The impact of Fillmore's [1968] case grammar model is also found in the work, as Tamil is a casal language. The model adopted has helped him to solve structural ambiguities found in compounds like

1. mara-p-peṭṭi 'wooden box'
2. paṇa-p-peṭṭi 'cash box'

which show similar structure with the same noun as second member. But in the deep structure the relation is one of instrument and object in [1] and object and locative in [2]. Further ambiguous compounds like

3. tuṇi-p-pai 'cloth bag'

with the same constituents but two different readings give different meanings.

4. tuṇi vaikkira pai 'the bag intended to keep cloth'
5. tuṇiya:l a:ṇa pai 'the bag which is made of cloth'

Such ambiguities are solved when they are derived from different deep structures.

The author also studies in detail the different types of Nominal compounds found in Tamil and explains their syntactic derivation from their deep structure by the application of grammatical transformations. He has also given at the end a grammatical index of the nominal compounds he has studied. There is also a useful appendix which discusses the treatment of compounds by traditional Tamil grammarians and commentators.

This book is an important contribution towards the understanding of the syntactic and semantic structure of the Tamil language. Both the author and the authorities of the Madurai Kamaraj University have to be congratualted for bringing out this work in a book form.

(Sd) S. Agesthialingom

Dr. M. Shanmugam Pillai, M.A., M.Litt, Ph.D.,
Professor & Head of the Department of Tamil Studies,
Madurai Kamaraj University, Madurai.

Dr. G. Vijayavenugopal's thesis on "Nominal Composition in Tamil" is an important addition to the study of Tamil Syntax. It follows the theoretical frame work of Transformational Generative Grammar. However it makes a necessary blend of both Transformational Generative Grammar and Semantics.

The rules regarding the Generation of the surface structure of different compounds are explained clearly and convincingly. The explanations regarding the compounds consisting of more than two members are noteworthy, especially the ones on the idiomatic nominal compounds which are still a problem in Linguistic theories. Again he proposes a new theory on interpreting the adjectives as derived from adverbs. Similarly his explanations regarding the derivation of the cognated objects and the compound nouns involving a third member with the anaphonic suffix-i (page 143) deserve mention.

Dr. G. Vijayavenugopal has to be congratulated for this work and I have very great pleasure in releasing this important work through the Department of Tamil Studies of the Madurai Kamaraj University.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Transformational Generative grammar and compounding.

An attempt is made here in the following pages to study the nominal compounds found in Tamil within the framework of transformational generative grammar. The data for this study is mainly taken from the Tamil lexion, published by the Madras University. I have also collected some more material from the modern short stories and novels published in several magazines.

I was very much benefited by the theoretical insights chiefly made by Lees (1960, 1970). Rudolph B. Botha (1968) David A. Reibel (1963) C.J. Fillmore (1965) and the impact of theirs could be seen almost in every page of the present analysis.

According to this theory Compounds are considered as surface structures which are, derived by transformations from deep structures and they are not treated as mere Composite nouns. There are reasons for this. First of all if we consider them as mere composite nouns, say, Noun + Noun units, it is possible to have a compound of the type *peṭṭi maram "box wood" which if pronounced without a pause does not convey anything. Whereas the combination maram + peṭṭi → marapeṭṭi "wooden box" is meaningful and grammatical. This reveals the fact that mere juxtaposition of nouns could not become Compounds and the combination should be grammatically correct. In other words these forms should be well-formed. The native speaker knows to distinguish which composite nouns are well formed and which are not. This competence of the native speaker is formulable only in terms of some grammatical rules. These rules will assign grammatical structures to the compounds. The well-

formed composite nouns or the compounds incorporated in the grammatical forms and the syntactic relation between them really reflect that which occurs in the grammatically underlying expression. The expression will be ultimately an independent sentence. Thus the compounds which are treated as surface structures are derived by transformation from underlying deep structures in which the lexical items and their grammatical relations manifested in the compounds are explicitly specified. For example the compound kaaṭṭu yaanai "wild elephant" is derived from the sentence yaanai kaattil vaalkiratu "The elephant lives in the jungle". The formal relation found between the constituents kaaṭṭu and yaanai is just the relation between those two words found in the underlying sentence i.e., the relation between Subject and the locative. Besides there are many semantic and syntactic reasons also for treating the compounds as surface structures. On the semantic side it is argued that as surface structures they do not indicate the relevant relationship necessary for the semantic interpretation. The compound kaaṭṭu yaanai being a surface structure does not show explicitly the syntactic relationship found between its constituents. This syntactic information is necessary for the proper interpretation at the semantic level. If the compounds are not derived from deep structures the common grammatical relations found in both surface and deep structures go unaccounted for.

Secondly the "multiple ambiguity" found in certain compounds could be resolved only if we adopt the transformational approach for deriving the compounds based on different "readings". Thus tracing the ambiguities to different readings and explain them in grammatical terms avoids one to take unnecessary recourse to extra-linguistic factors such as the speakers knowledge of his material culture. For example the compound tuṇi-p-pai "cloth bag" is ambiguous in the sense that it may mean either, "The bag that is intended for keeping the cloth" or "The bag which was made with cloth". One has to select the proper deep structure for deciding the case. The superficial treat-

ment of the compound like taking it only as a Noun + Noun compound does not resolve the ambiguity and it will be explained only in terms of the extra-linguistic factor. But deriving it from a proper deep structure not only resolves the ambiguity but also avoids the recourse to extra-linguistic factors. Besides the real and similar relationship found between the members in the surface structures and that of found in the underlying structures are taken into account. In this way positing adhoc structures could be avoided.

Coming to the syntactic reasons it is argued that only a transformational treatment will explain the difference found between the following compounder :

(1) marap peṭṭi	“wooden box”
(2) paṇap peṭṭi	“cash box”

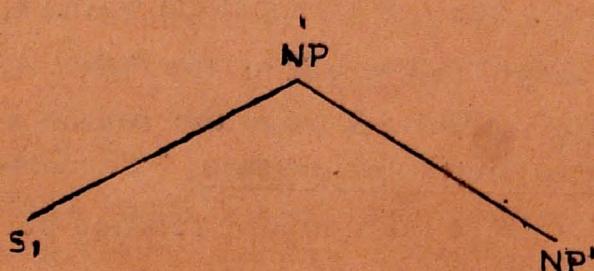
Though both the compounds contain the same word peṭṭi as the second member and also both have nouns as first members their syntactic behaviour is entirely different. To show some of the differences, compound (1) can be nominalised into marattāal aana peṭṭi “the box made out of wood” whereas compound (2) cannot be nominalised as *paṇattāal aana peṭṭi “the box is made out of money”; similarly one could have peṭṭi marattil ceyṭatu “the box is made with wood”, but not *peṭṭi paṇattil ceyṭatu “the box is made out of money”. Conversely we can have paṇattukku ulla peṭṭi “the box intended for keeping money” but we cannot have *marattaukku ulla peṭṭi “the box intended for keeping wood”. So also peṭṭiyil paṇattai vaitṭeen “I kept the money in the box” is grammatical whilst *peṭṭiyil marattai vaitṭeen “I kept the wood in the box” is ungrammatical. Compound (1) is derived from the source sentence viz., 1. a oruvan marattāal peṭṭiyai-c-ceyṭaan “Someone has made a box with wood”. Here the syntactic relation between marattāal and

petti is that of between “Instrumental and object”. But compound (2) is derived from the source sentence viz...; (2) a. oruvan pañattirkaaka-p- pettiyai-c-ceytaan. “Someone has made box in order to keep money. The relation between the words- pañam and petti is between “purposive” and “object”. This deeper syntactic relationship is not at all reflected in the surface level where the compounds appear only as Noun+Noun. That is why a transformational approach is preferred.

1.2 How the derivation is done?

With the above theoretical briefing I pass on to explain briefly how this derivation from the deep structure to the surface structure is made and explained in this dissertation. Since the rules which generate compounds are themselves the rules which generate sentences also they must not only describe the relations found between the constituents of a compound, but also serve to place the generated compounds in the sentences in their proper places. For example the compound (of Coordinate construction) Kapila parañar “Kapilar and paranar” is a plural noun and this can occur only in a position where a plural noun can occur. In this way the rules are applicable to both the matrix sentence where the compound occurs and to the embedded sentence from which the compound is derived. In this way we can have a general rule to increase the explanatory power of the analysis.

The derivation of the compound from the constituent sentence and the replacement in the matrix sentence can be diagrammatically explained as follows.



Here S_1 stands for the constituent sentence from which the compound is derived : NP' stands for the nominal in the matrix sentence. At the final stage the derived compound will be fit into the matrix sentence. In the certain cases more than one constituent sentence is involved. In these cases the transformational rules will be applied to the deepest constituent sentence and then to the next higher one and so on. In describing the analysis the following method is followed. First the type of relationship found between two constituents of the compound is given. This is followed by a discussion about its possible source sentence and its deep structure. The suitable source verbs are also suggested. After this the derivational process is explained in detail starting with the tree diagram explaining the base phrase marker and the NP of the matrix sentence. Afterwards the various transformational rules required for the derivation are stated and the derivation itself is clearly explained step by step. These transformational rules specify the formal operations in terms of (1) a structural description (=SD) stating the set of base Phrase markers to which these apply and (2) a structural change (=SC) which is the result of the formal operations. At the final stage the Equi NP deletion rule deletes one of the identical NPs and it is fit into the matrix sentence. This Equi- NP deletion rule has to be applied at the last stage because if it is done in the initial stage it creates an impasse and no further alterations are permitted to be made.

1.3 Problems.

- (1) One of the problems encountered in the derivation of the compounds is concerned with the indiscriminate verbal ellipsis. Compounds which show the same grammatical relationship among their constituents will come under this. For example in the compound paal maaṭu "milk cow" the source verb tarukirāṭu "will give" found in the source sentence maaṭu paalai-t tarukirāṭu "the cow gives the milk" is deleted in the process of the derivation of compound. Since the proper verb is not found in the surface structure it raises a

question as to why the compound in question should be derived only from the source sentence containing the verb "tarukiratu" rather than from (1) well-formed sentences like "maaṭu paalai vaitṭirukkīrātu" "the cow possesses milk" or "maaṭu paalai-c-corikīrātu" "The cow oozes the milk" or (2) from ill-formed sentences like maaṭu paalai-k-keṭkīrātu "the cow asks for milk". One has to assume that (1) either the native speaker understands the Compounds to be as many ways ambiguous as there are different verbs or (2) that the grammar of the language explicitly associates the right verbs with the grammatical categories. We find in many of the cases like these the different verbal meanings are associated with the semantic description of the head nouns themselves. Among these the latter assumption seems to be true. In our discussion on the possible source sentence we have pointed out this kind of association and suggested possible related source verbs or what Lees calls "generalised verbs"

In this way we find a closer connection between the meanings of the compounds and its deep syntactic structures. Thus treating such compounds as indefinitely ambiguous can be avoided. It should be pointed out that there are certain compounds which do not have this kind of verbal relation like that of sentences in the NP+NP + Copula Verb pattern. However there is no problem in realising their correct grammatical relationship.

(ii) Another problem encountered in the derivational process concerns with the single deep structure resulting in two surface structures. Consider the examples :

A. kaṭṭu yaanai "wild elephant"
B. yaanai-k-kaṭtu "the jungle where the elephant is"

Both these structures are derived from the following underlying sentence.

C. yaanai kaaṭil irukkiraṭṭu “The elephant is in the jungle”

It has to be stated here that two different derivational processes are necessary to arrive at the surface structures as dictated by the NP of the matrix sentence. Compound A involves a locative relativisation whereas B involves a Subject relativisation process. Accordingly the derivation for A will be :

A.i. yaanai kaaṭṭil ullaṭṭu →
 kaaṭṭil ulla yaanai → kaaṭu yaanai

The derivation for B will be :

B.i. yaanai kaaṭṭil ullaṭṭu →
 yaanai ulla kaaṭu → yaanai kaaṭu

(111) The peculiarities with regard to the coordinate type of compounds noted by Ravindran (1973- unpublished Ph. D dissertation) have also been noted by me with regard to the Tamil examples. I quote him extensive.

“ They (the coordinate compounds) violate the general principle that a noun+noun compound can be replaced with a single noun; mostly of the kind of the head of the composite.

2(a) They demand for an additional morpheme denoting plurality.

(b) The obligatory requirement of a plural marker in the case of compounds denoting human relationship necessitates the presence of a plural subject in the source sentence. Despite these peculiarities they are conveying a unified notion as other types of compounds”

(IV) For special kinds of problems regarding the analysis of figurative compounds etc., please see the sections on “figurative noiminal compounds” and “idicomatic nominal compounds”. Since I have discussed them in detail I do not want to repeat them here.

(V) There are some compounds which show a relation of "Verb+Subject" in the deeper level. Though only nominal compounds are treated here this type is also given for there is the possibility of treating these Verbs as nominals while they function as attributes before nouns. This is worth exploring and should form a future study. Similarly the compounds which show an "adverb +object" relation are also given for the reasons pointed out above. Probably these should also be treated as nominals while coming before nouns.

1.4. *Some observations :*

(1) It is argued that what is deleted in the derivational process should be recoverable at some stage. This problem is related with problem (1). Taking again the example *paal maaṭu* given in (1) we have said that the source verb is deleted before the surface structure is realised. According to the general assumption cited above this should be recoverable. In my analysis I have noticed that this could be done. For example when this compound is involved in a construction where comparison is involved this recovering is noticed. When two milch cows are compared regarding their yield of milk as mentioned in the sentence inṭa-p-paalmaṭu anṭa -p- paal maaṭtaiviṭa naṇṭaaka-p- paal tarukiratu "This milch cow gives more milk than that cow" the source verb "tarukiratu" is recovered. But I am not sure whether this kind of recoverability is possible with all verbs suffering ellipsis. This has to be taken only an example to show that it may be possible to prove that recoverability is possible.

(ii) It is argued that generally in Tamil adjectives are formed out of nominal expressions with the copula verbs. But I have noticed that most of these adjectives are really functioning as adverbs to the source verbs. At this juncture I cannot decide in one way or the other. For a detailed discussion see the section on "adverb+object."

(iii) I have also noticed that certain words have to be considered as neutral elements which in the process are

made into nominals. While tracing the adverbials I have come across such words. I have suggested that at least a few words have to be considered as such. See for more information the sections on "adverb+object" etc.

(iv) While dealing with the idiomatic compounds I have noticed a certain way of linking the non-idiomatic ones with the idiomatic ones. Botha (1968, p.216) has pointed out that "the comparative aspect of these metaphorical compounds is not characteristic of the idiomatic ones". But I have tried to argue that even in the idiomatic compounds this comparative aspect is involved. More discussion could be seen in the chapter on idiomatic nominal compounds. The suggestions made there are only tentative.

(v) There are a number of compounds which show "object+verb+(subject)-i." relationship. The suffix -i is an anaphoric representation of the subject of the source sentence. These types of compounds shed some light on the principles of nominalisation in Tamil. In another set of compounds like the above type we find "object+verb+(instrument)-i" relationship. Since the -i represents a grammatical category of the source sentence it could very well be treated as a separate constituent. It is not clear whether we should treat them as three-member-compound or just two-member-compound. It is also pointed out that this nominalisation comes under the transformational level rather than under morphological derivation. For a full discussion see section on "object+verb+i".

1.5. *Format of the thesis.*

The thesis is organised into three main sections. Section 1 deals with the theoretical aspect of compounding, derivations, problems etc. Section 2 deals with the types of nominal compounds identified in Tamil. Section 3 gives a list of all compounds discussed in this thesis in Tamil alphabetical order. Later in an appendix the theory of compounding and the classification of compounds as explained by the Tamil grammarians and commentators is discussed.

2. Types of Nominal Compounds.

2.1. Classification of the compounds

Section 2 is subdivided into several sections. The grouping is made on the basis of the second member of the compounds. Accordingly subsections from 2.2.1. to 2.2.8. deal with compounds in which the second member is object. Sub sections 2.3.1 to 2.3.3. deal with compounds in which the second member is the cognate object. Subsections 2.4.1 to 2.4.9 deal with compounds in which the second member is subject. Similarly subsections 2.5.1 and 2.5.2 deal with compounds in which the second member is locative. So also subsections 2.6.1 and 2.6.2 deal with compounds which have Temporal as their second member. Other miscellaneous types are discussed in 2.7.1 to 2.7.2b. Afterwards coordinate compounds figurative nominal Compounds, idiomatic nominal compounds and multinominal compounds are dealt with.

It has to be pointed out here that no detailed explanations are given regarding the morphophonemic changes though under every subsection the resulting forms are given after morphophonemic changes. Only indications are made.

2.2 Compounds in which the second member is object.

2.2.1. Subject + Object

There is a set of compounds which show a "subject+object" relation between the constituents. The following examples are from that set.

1. kaakkaa-k-kuutu “the nest of the crow”
2. kaṇṇataacan kavitai “songs of Kaṇṇataacan”
3. kalki ɳaaval “novel of Kalki”
4. paattan cottu “grandfather’s property”
5. taattaa viitu “grandfather’s house”

The source sentences for these are as follows :-

- 1.a.kaakkaa kuuṭṭai-k-kaṭṭiyatu
“The crow has built the nest”
- 2.a.kaṇṇataaacan kaviṭṭaiyai elutinaar
“Kaṇṇataaacan wrote song(s)”
- 3.a.kalki naavalai elutinaar
“Kalki wrote novel(s)”
- 4.a.paaṭṭan cotṭai vaāṅkinaar
“Grandfather has bought the property”
- 5.a.ṭaaṭṭaa viiṭṭai-k-kaṭṭinaar
“Grandfather has built the house”

Compound 1. will have kaṭṭu as its source verb ; 2 and 3 will have eluṭu ; 4 will have vaāṅku and 5 will have again kaṭṭu based on the lexical items which occur with them. In all these cases the second members function as objects. The first members denote the subjects which are responsible for the creation or production of the objects referred to by the second members. All these compounds and their source sentences could be derived from a common syntactic deep structure viz., N(Subject)+N(Object)+Verb (transitive)

One of the problems encountered in the derivation of compounds especially when following the transformational approach is concerned with the possibility of positing two different deep structures to a single unambiguous compound. Perhaps this is due to the inadequate analysis of the grammar. We encounter this kind of problem with regard to the derivation of the above type of compounds. The following sentences are also acceptable and in a way they are semantically identical with the respective surface level compounds.

- 1.b. iṭu kaakkaavinuṭṭaiya kuuṭu
“This is crow's nest
- 2.b. iṭu kaṇṇataaacanuṭṭaiya kaviṭṭai
“This is Kaṇṇataaacan's song”

3.b. *iṭu kalkiyinuṭaiya ɳaaval*

“This is Kalki’s novel”

4.b. *iṭu paaṭṭanuṭaiya cotṭu*

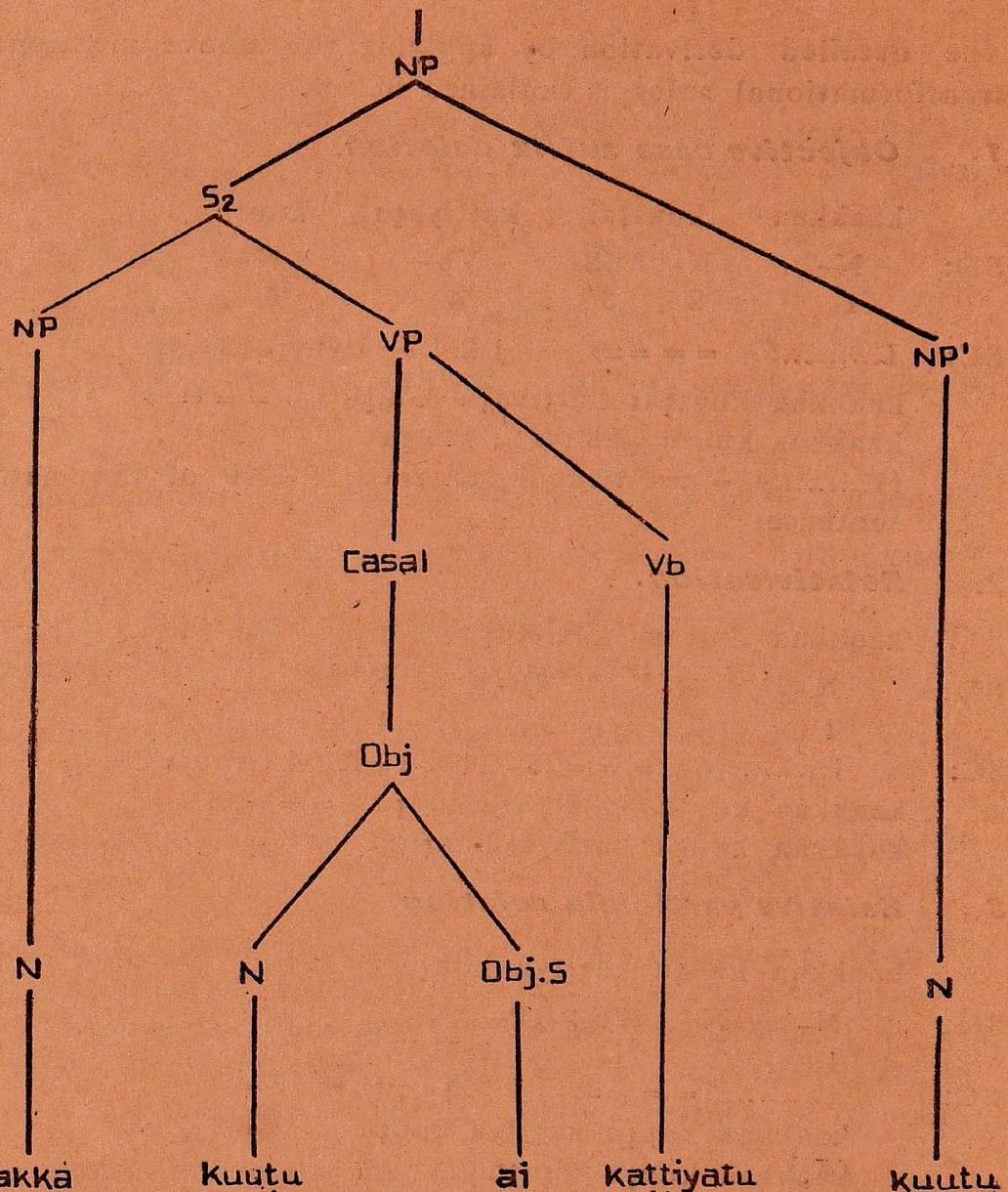
“This is grandfather’s property”

5. b. *iṭu ṭaatt̪aavinuṭaiya viiṭu*

“This is grandfather’s house”

All these show a genitive-possessive relationship. It seems that both these source sentences are possible for the compounds 1 to 5. In other words each compound has got two different deep structures. But a deeper analysis will prove that only one is possible. Even though all the sentences show a ‘possessive’ relationship (Possessive has manifold meanings and their implications are not clear. This should form a separate study) these expressions should be considered as only intermediary realisations in the process of derivation. Or can we say that possession takes place only after the creation? In this way the positing of two different deep structures could be avoided.

The derivation of the compounds of this type could be demonstrated with an example from the compounds given above: kaakkaa-k-kuuṭu. The source sentence for this will be 1.a. The underlying phrase marker of this sentence is given below in the form of a tree diagram.



kaakkaa kuuṭu kattiyatu kuuṭu after obj. Suffix deletion

kaakkaa kuuṭu kattiyा kuuṭu ,, Relativisation

kaakkaa kuuṭu kuuṭu ,, Rel. part. deletion

kaakkaa kuuṭu ,, Equi-NP deletion.

The detailed derivation by applying the above mentioned transformational rules is explained below.

1. Objective case suffix deletion.

	kaakkaa	kuuttai	kattiyat <u>u</u>	kuut <u>u</u>
SD:	N-	N-obj.S	Vb-	N
	1	2 3	4	5
SC:	1.....5	====>	1 2 4 5	(where 2=5)
	kaakkaa	kuut <u>ai</u>	kattiyat <u>u</u>	kuut <u>u</u>
	kaakkaa	kuut <u>u</u>	kattiyat <u>u</u>	kuut <u>u</u>
	(1.....4	= constituent sentence, 5=NP of the matrix sentence)		

2. Relativisation.

	kaakkaa	kuut <u>u</u>	kattiyat <u>u</u>	kuut <u>u</u>
SD:	N-	N-	Vb-	N
	1	2	3	4
SC:	1.....4	====>	1 2 3 + RP 4	(where 2=4)
	kaakkaa	kuut <u>u</u>	kattiyat <u>u</u>	kuut <u>u</u>
	kaakkaa	kuut <u>u</u>	kattiy <u>a</u>	kuut <u>u</u>

3. Relative participle deletion.

	kaakkaa	kuut <u>u</u>	ka <u>t</u> tiya	kuut <u>u</u>
SD:	N-	N-	Vb + RP-	N
	1	2	3 4	5
SC:	1.....5	====>	1 2 5	(where 2=5)
	kaakkaa	kuut <u>u</u>	ka <u>t</u> tiya	kuut <u>u</u>
	kaakkaa	kuut <u>u</u>		

4. Equi-NP deletion.

	kaakkaa	kuut <u>u</u>	kuut <u>u</u>
SD:	N-	N-	N
	1	2	3
SC:	1.....3	====>	1 3
	kaakkaa	kuut <u>u</u>	kuut <u>u</u>
	kaakkaa	kuut <u>u</u>	
	kaakkaa + kuut <u>u</u>	====>	kaakkaa-k-kuut <u>u</u>
			(morphophonemically)

2.2.2. *Instrument + Object*

There is a set of compounds which bear "instrument + object" relationship; for which the following are the examples.

- 1) maṇ̄ pommai "clay doll"
- 2) tōl pommai "leather doll"

The underlying structure for this type of compounds is as follows.

- 1) a.pommai mannāl ceyṭatātu "The doll was made with clay"
- 2) a. pommai toolaal ceyṭatātu "The doll was made with leather"

The first constituent of compounds occur with-āl, the instrumental suffix. The passive expressions of these are:-

- 1) b. pommai maṇṇāl ceyyappattu "The doll was made by clay"
- 2) b. pommai toolaal ceyyappattātu "The doll was made by leather"

Generally in Tamil the passive notions are expressed by sentences in active voice. Hence they are synonymous. So the passive expressions are really the transformations of the underlying expressions in active voice. In the light of this one may posit the real deep structure for these as follows:-

- 1)c. oruvan pommai yai maṇṇal ceyṭaan
"Someone made a doll with clay"
- 2)c. oruvan pommai yai-t-toolaal ceyṭaan
"Someone made a doll with leather"

The item pommai in (1) to (2)b which could be taken

as "subject" is only a surface level phenomenon and in reality it is in object relationship with the following verb ceyṭaan. Sentences (1)b and (2)(b) are transformations of another surface structure realisation-of the underlying active-voice sentence.

Consider the following examples which also have the instrumental suffix -āl.

3. ammaittalumpu "Small pox marks"

4. tii-p-puṇ "Wounds of fire"

One possible underlying structure for these will be

3(a) talumpu ammaiyaal vanṭaṭu

"The marks came (appear) because of small pox"

4(a) puṇ tiiyaal vanṭaṭu

"The wound appear / came because of fire"

The following synonymous expressions are also possible for the above.

3(b) oruvan ammaiyaal talumpai-p-perraan

"Someone got marks because of small-pox"

4(b) oruvan tiiyaal puṇnai-p-perran

"Someone got marks because of fire"

By this similarity in surface structures alone we cannot accept that in both these cases there is really instrumental+object relationship.

1 (d) oruvan maṇṇai-k-konṭu pommaiyaai-c-ceyṭaan

"Someone made a doll with clay"

2 (d) oruvan ṭoolai-k-konṭu pommaiyaai-c-ceyṭaan

"Someone made a doll with leather"

These are synonymous with sentences (1) to 2 (c). In this manner we cannot have sentences for 3 (b) and 4(b). Accordingly sentences like

3 (c) *oruvan ammaiyaai-k-konṭu talumpai-p-perraan

4 (c) *oruvan tiiyai-y-k-konṭu talumpai-p-perraan

are not possible and they are ungrammatical. In the result

only sentences (1)(a), (b)(c) and (2)(a) (b) (c) could be taken as real instrumentals. Sentences like (3) and (4) should be given separate treatment. These will come under cause+effect relation and they are treated accordingly in this analysis. (See the chapter on "Cause+effect")

Similarly there is another set of words which will be considered on a par with compounds (1)&(2). This is again superficial. See the following:-

5. vaṭṭakai-p-paṇam "rent (money)"

6. vaṭṭi-p-paṇam "interest" (money)

One kind of underlying structure for these will be

5(a) paṇam vaṭṭakai-y-aal vaṇṭatu
"The money came (got) by rent"

6(a) paṇam vaṭṭi-y-aal vaṇṭatu

"The money came (got) by interest"

These surface realisations look like (1) (a) and 1 (b). The expressions vaṭṭakai and vaṭṭi appear with instrumental suffixes. But these are not real instrumentals for we cannot have the following sentences like (1) (c) and (2) (c).

*5 (b) oruvan paṇaṭṭi vāṭakai-y-aal perrān
"Some one got money by rent"

*6 (b) oruvan paṇaṭṭai vaṭṭiyaal perrān
"Someone got money by interest"

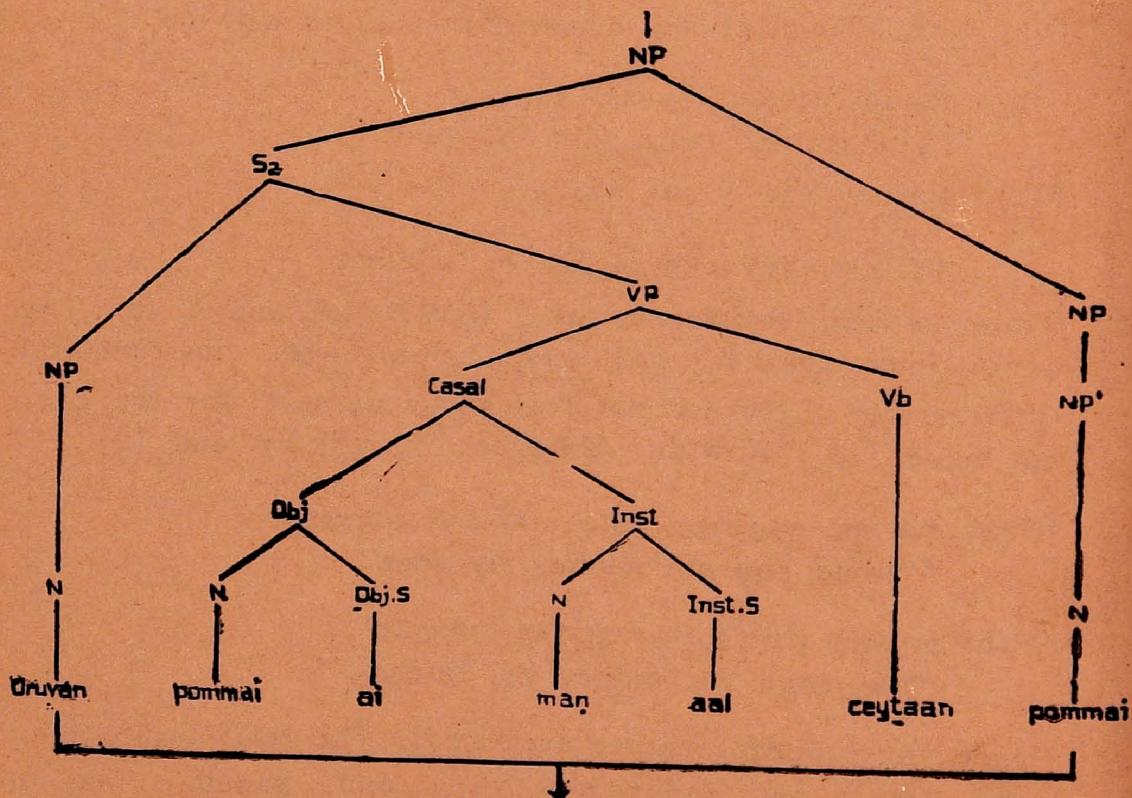
Hence these need separate treatment. The relationship between vāṭakai and paṇam and vaṭṭi and paṇam is that of between Predicate+Subject rather than Instrumental + object or Instrumental + Subject. Accordingly these will be treated separately. The various features involved in these items which need separate treatments are given below in detail-

(1) maṇ pommai } Ingredient + Product
(2) tōl pommai }

In the above the first member is the ingredient with which the second member viz., the product is made.

In (3) ammaittalumpu and (4) tiippuṇ the relationship is that of between cause + effect. The items talumpu and puṇ have features { +concrete } whereas (5) vaaṭakai-p-paṇam and (6) vaṭṭi-p-paṇam also involve cause+effect relationship but have different features viz., [+abstract].

The derivation of the compound maṇpommai is explained below with tree diagram etc. The underlying phrase marker is represented below in the form of a tree diagram.



oruvan pommai maṇaal ceytaan pommai

↓

pommai maṇaal ceyta pommai

↓

pommai maṇ pommai

↓

maṇ pommai

The relevant transformational rules are as follows:—

1. Object case suffix deletion

2. Relativisation

3. Subject deletion

4. Relative participle deletion

5. Instrumental case deletion

9. Equi-NP deletion

7. ***Objective case suffix deletion.***

oruvan pommaiai maṇ aal ceytaan pommai

SD: N- N-Obj.S N- Inst.S- Vb-

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1.....7 ==> 1 2 4 5 6 7 (where 2=7)

oruvan pommaiai maṇaal ceytaan pommai ==>

oruvan pommai maṇaal ceytaan pommai

2. *Relativisation.*

oruvan pommai maṇ aal ceyṭaan pommai

SD : N— N— N— Inst.S Vb— N
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC : 1 6 ==> 1 2 3 4 5 + RP 6 (where 2=6)
oruvan pommai maṇ aal ceyṭaan pommai ==>
oruvan pommai maṇaal ceyṭa pommai

3. *Subject deletion.*

oruvan pommai maṇ aal ceyṭa pommai

SD : N— N— N— Inst.S Vb+RP N
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC : 1 7 ==> 2 3 4 5 6 7 (where 2=7)
oruvan pommai maṇ aal ceyṭa pommai ==>
Pommai maṇ aal ceyṭa pommai

4. *Relative participle reduction.*

pommai maṇ aal ceyṭa pommai

SD : N— N— Inst.S— Vb+RP N
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC : 1 6 —> 1 2 3 6 (where 1=6)
pommai maṇ aal ceyṭa pommai ==>
pommai maṇaal pommai

5. *Instrumental case suffix deletion*

pommai maṇ aal pommai

SD : N— N— Inst.S— N
1 2 3 4

SC : 1 4 ==> 1 2 4 (where 1=4)

pommai maṇ aal pommai ==>

pommai maṇ pommai

6. *Equi-Np deletion*

pommai maṇ pommai

SD: N- N- N

SC: 1 2 3

SC: 1.....3 ==> 2 3

pommai maṇ pommai ==>

maṇ pommai

The following compounds will undergo morphophonemic changes.

maṇ + kalam -----> maṭkalam

tool + peṭṭi -----> toor peṭṭi

oolai + kuuṭai -----> oolai-k-kuuṭai

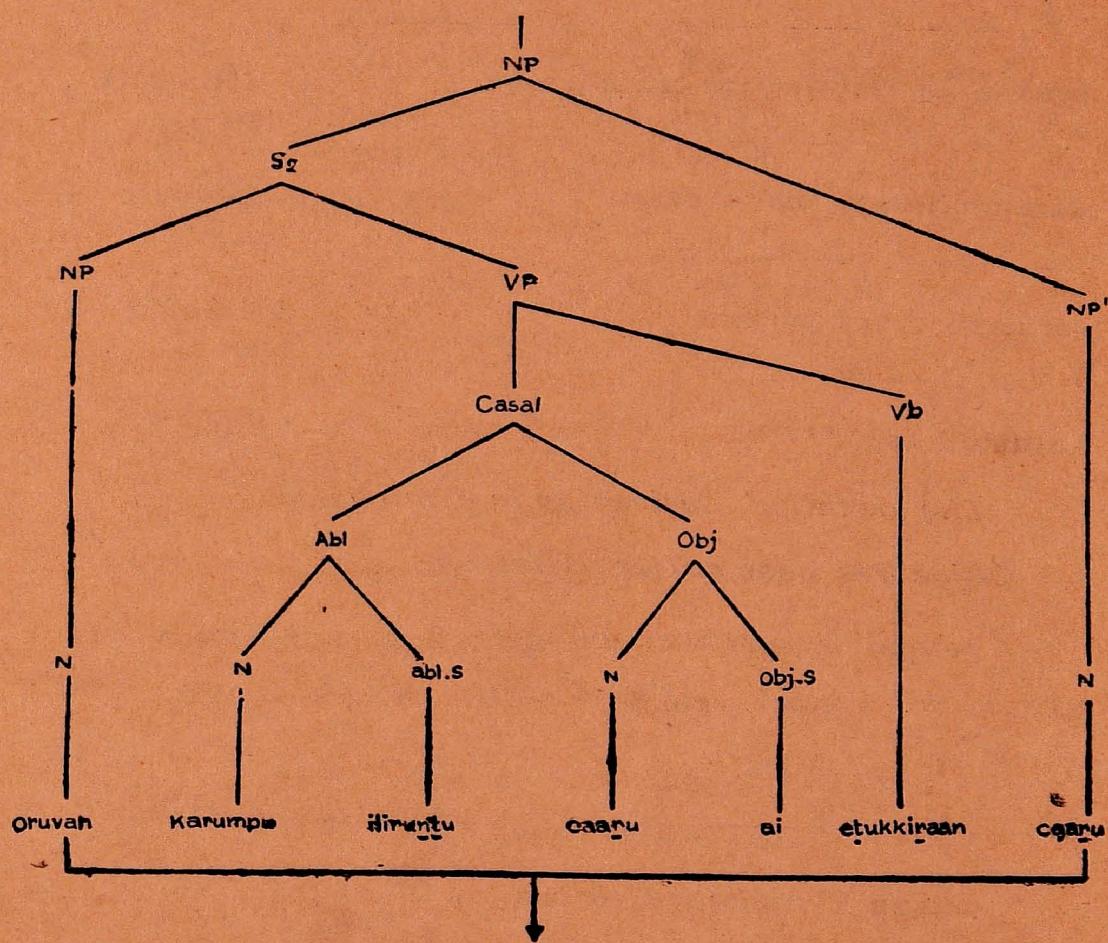
22.3. Ablative + Object

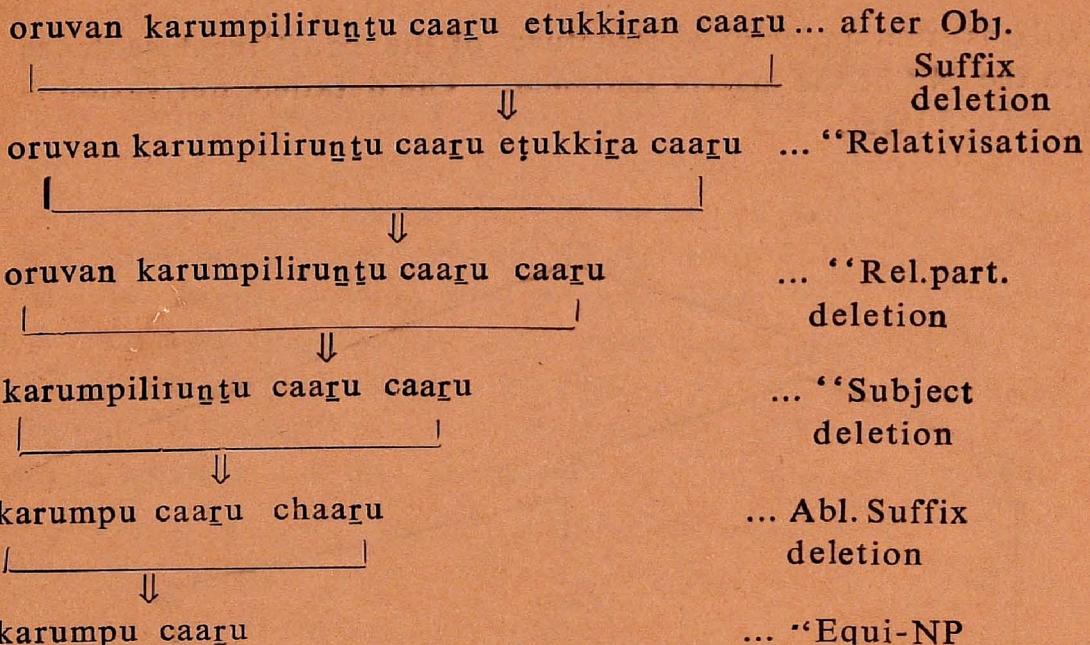
The compounds like the following show a relationship of "abative + object".

1. mara-p-paṭṭai "bark of the tree"
2. veeppaṇ kucci "neem stick"
3. karumpu-c-caaru "sugar-cane juice"
4. kaṭalai yenney "ground-nut oil"
5. nelliKKaay-t-tailam "oil extracted from a kind of greenberry"
6. iṇci-c-caaru "ginger-juice"

These compounds are somewhat ambiguous and two readings are possible. One reading shows a relationship of Locative + Subject. Thus one can trace (1) to a source sentence (1)a. paṭṭai marattil ullaṭu "the bark is in the tree". The other reading shows the relationship given above. So it seems possible to derive these compounds from different underlying structures. However the second reading is preferred here. The underlying syntactic structure for the above mentioned relationship will be N(Subject) N(Ablative) N(Object Verb). The compound (3) karumpu-c-caarru is taken up here for demonstration. The source sentence for this compound is 3. 1. oruvan karumbi-liruntu caarrai eṭukkiraan. "Someone extracts the juice from the sugar - cane. The following tree diagram

explains the underlying structure of the constituent sentence and the NP of the matrix sentence. The detailed derivation is described later.





The detailed derivation is given below :

1. Objective case suffix deletion,

oruvan	karumpiliru <small>ntu</small>	caa <small>ru</small>	ai	e <small>tu</small> ukkiraan	caa <small>ru</small>	
SD:	N-	N-	abl.S-	N-	Obj.S-	Vb-
	1	2	3	4	5	6

SC: 1.....7 ————— 1 2 3 4 6 7 (where 4 = 7)

oruvan karumpiliruntu caarrai etuukkiraan caaru —————→

oruvan karumpiliruntu caaru etukkiraan caaru

2. Relativisation

oruvan karumpiliruntu caaru etuukkiraan caaru

SD :	N—	N—	abl.S—	N—	Vb—	N
	1	2	3	4	5	6

SC :	1 6 —————→	1 2 3 4 5	RP 6 (where 4 = 6)
------	--------------------	-----------	--------------------

oruvan karumpiliruntu caaru etuukkiaran caaru —————→
oruvan karumpiliruntu caaru etuukkira caaru

3. Relative participle deletion

oruvan karumpilirunttu caaru eṭukkira caaru

SD : N— N— abl.S— N— Vb RP— N
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC : 1.....7 —————→ 1 2 3 4 7 (where 4=7)

oruvan karumpilirunttu caaru eṭukkira caaru —————→
oruvan karumpilirunttu caaru caaru

4. Subject deletion

oruvan karumpiirunttu caaru caaru

SD : N— N— abl.S— N— N—
1 2 3 4 5

SC : 1.....5 —————→ 2 3 4 5 (where 4=5)

oruvan karumpilirunttu caaru caaru —————→
karumpilirunttu caaru caaru

5. Ablative suffix deletion.

karumpilirunttu caaru caaru

SD: N— abl.s— N— N
1 2 3 4

SC: 1.....4 —————→ 1 3 4 (where 3=4)

karumpilirunttu caaru caaru —————→
karumpu caaru caaru

6. Equi-NP deletion.

karumpu caaru caaru

SD: N— N— N
1 2 3

SC: 1.....3 —————→ 1 3

karumpu caaru caaru —————→
karumpu caaru

karumpu caaru —————→ karumpu-c-caaru morphonemically.

Similarly others also undergo as shown below.

maram + paṭtai —————→ mara-p-paṭtai

veeppam + kucci —————→ veeppañ kucci

kaṭalai + eṇṇey	→	kata lai - y - eṇṇey
ṇellikkaay + ṭailam	→	ṇellikkaay - ṭ - ṭailam
iñci + caau	→	iñci - c - caaru

2.2.4. Purposive + Object

Another interesting set of compounds of which the following are a few examples that show a relationship of "purposive + object". Some of the compounds are ambiguous in that different deep structures which seem to be possible for them. However after generalisation on the basis of one reading these could be brought under the above type of relationship. This needs some elaboration. Before discussing this see the examples.

1.	raca vaal <i>i</i>	“pepper-water bucket or pan”
2.	tuñi-p-pai	“cloth bag”
3.	uu <u>ñ</u> uka ay-c-caai	“pickle jar”
4.	taññiir-t-tot <i>ti</i>	“water tub”
5.	uppu maravai	“salt container”

(In compounds 3 and 4 the first members uurukaay and taññiir are themselves compounds consisting of two constituents. However these are ignored, for, they do not in any way, affect the derivation suggested here) Compounds 1 to 5 are ambiguous because of the following different deep structures. It is possible to derive these compounds from both the structures.

For 1 (a) racam vaaliyil ullatu
 "Pepper-water is in the bucket"

(b) oruvan racam vaittu-k-koļvataරාkaaka vaaļiyai
vaitt'rukkiraans
“Someone is keeping a bucket in order to keep
the pepper-water.”

For 2 (a) tuni pai-yil irukkiratu
"The cloth is in the bag"

(b) oruvan tuni vaittu-k-kolvatarkaaka paiyai vaitt-
irukkiraan

“Someone is keeping a bag in order to keep colth”

For 3 (a) uuṛukaay caṭṭiyil uṛṛaṭu
“The pickle is in the jar”

(b) oruvan uuṛukaay vaitṭu-k-koṛvaṭaṛkaaka
caṛiyai vaitṭirukkiraan
“Someone is keeping a jar in order to keep pickle”

For 4 (a) ṭaṇṇiir ṭoṭṭiyil uṛṛaṭu
“The water is in the tub”

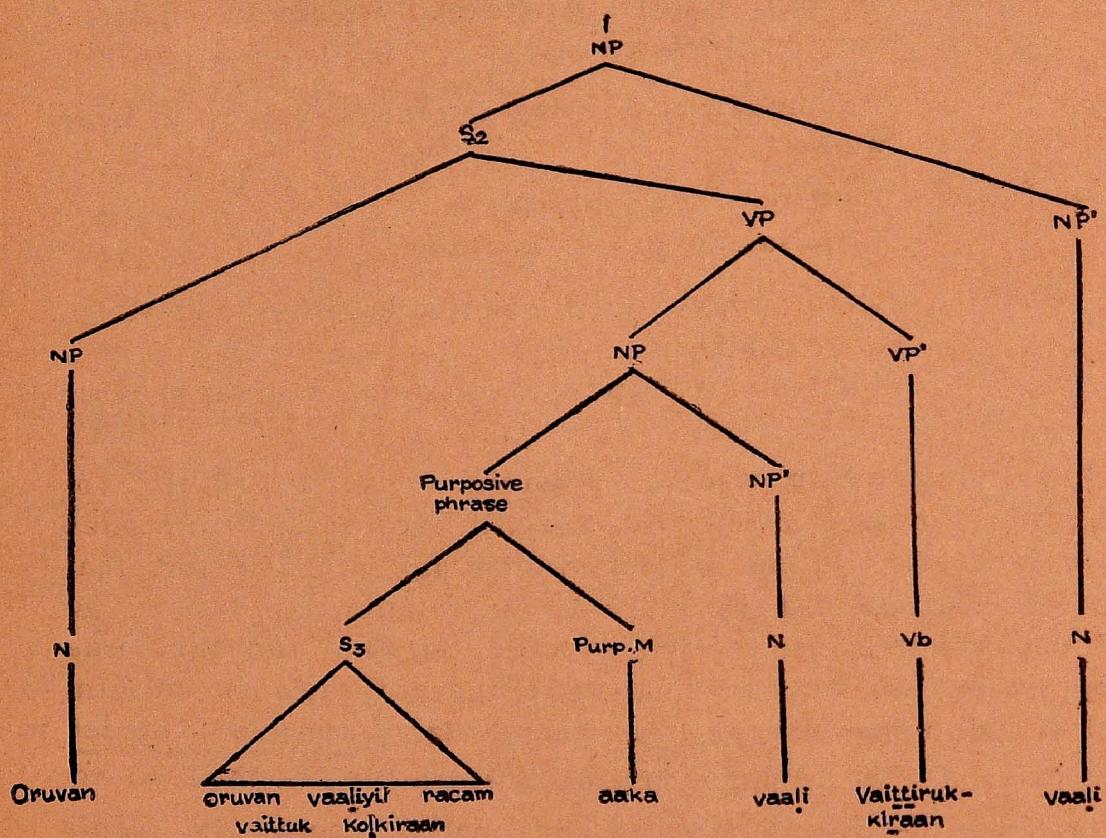
(b) oruvan ṭaṇṇiir vaitṭuk-koṛvaṭaṛkaaka ṭoṭṭiyai
vaitṭirukkiraan
“Someone is keeping the tub in order to keep water”

For 5 (a) uppu maravaiyil uṛṛaṭu
“The salt is in the container”

(b) oruvan uppu vaitṭu-k-koṛvaṭaṛkaaka maravaiyai
vaitṭirukkiraan
“Someone is keeping a container in order to keep salt”

Thus there are two readings possible. Here in 1 (b) to 5 (b) the first member refers to a specific purpose and the second member refers to an object which is intended for that specific purpose. Thus there is the relationship between an object which is used for a specific purpose and the thing kept in it. So we can posit, after generalisation a uniform relationship between the constituents viz., purposive + object. However if the intended meanings are as found in 1 (a) to 5 (a) the derivation has to be made accordingly. This reading will come under Subject + locative relation. Among these the reading involving “purposive + object” relationship alone is considered here.

Considering the involvement of the feature “purposive” we have to posit a complex deep structure involving two embedded sentences in a matrix sentence. The sentence 1 (b) could be taken up here for demonstration. The underlying structures and the NP of the matrix sentence are explained below diagrammatically.



oruvan oruvan vaaliyil recam vaiukkottvatarkaaka
vaali vaittirukkiraan vaali



racam vaaļi vaaļi

—————



racam vaaļi

The detailed derivation is given below. The following transformational rules are involved.

1. Nominalisation.
2. Identical subject deletion.
3. Locative case suffix deletion.
4. Identical NP deletion.
5. Subject deletion.
6. Relativisation.
7. Relative participle reduction.
8. Purposive phrase deletion.
9. Equi-NP deletion.

1. *Nominalisation.*

oruvan oruvan vaaļiyil racam vaittukkoļkiraan

SD:	N—	N—	N—Loc.S—	N—	Vb—
	1	2	3 4	5	6
	aaka	vaaļi	vaittirukkiraan	vaaļi	
	7	8	9	10	
SC:	1.....10	—	1 2 3 4 5 6	Nom.S	7 8 2 10

(where 3 = 8 = 10)

oruvan oruvan vaaļiyil racam vaittukkoļvatařkaaka
vaaļi vaittirukkiraan vaaļi —→

oruvan vaaļiyil racam vaittukkoļvatařkaaka vaaļi
vaittirukkiraan vaaļi

oruvan oruvan vaaļiyil racam vaittukkoļkiraan aaka
vaaļi vaittirukkiraan vaaļi —→

oruvan oruvan vaaļiyil racam vaittukkoļvatařkaaka
vaaļi vaittuirkkiraan vaaļi

(The relevant morphophonemic rule convert the items
vaittukkoļkiraan + aaka into vaittukkoļvatařkaaka- the
purposive phrase)

2. *Identical subject*

oruvan oruvan vaaļiyil racam vaittukkoļvatařkaaka

SD:	N-	N-	N-Loc.S-	N-	Pur-phr.-
	1	2	3	4	5
	vaaļi	vaiṭṭirukkīraan	vaaļi		
	N-	Vb-	N		
	7	8	9		

3. Locative case suffix deletion.

oruvan	vaaļiyil	racam	vaiṭṭukkoļvataṛkaaka	
SD:	N-	N-Loc.S-	N-	Purp.phr-
	1	2	3	4
	vaaļi	vaiṭṭirukkīraan	vaaļi	
	N-	Vb-	N	
	6	7	8	

SC : 1.....8 ==> 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 (where 2 = 6 = 8)

oruvan vaaļiyil racam vaiṭṭukkoļvataṛkaaka vaaļi
vaiṭṭirukkīraan vaaļi ==>

oruvan vaaļi racam vaiṭṭukkoļvataṛkaaka vaaļi
vaiṭṭirukkīraan vaaļi

4. Identical NP deletion.

oruvan	vaaļi	racam	vaiṭṭukkoļvataṛkaaka	vaaļi	
SD:	N-	N-	N-	Purp.phr.-	N-
	1	2	3	4	5
	vaiṭṭirukkīraan	vaaļi			
	Vb-	N			
	6	7			

Sc : 1.....7 ==> 1 2 4 5 6 7 (where 2 = 5 = 7)

oruvan vaaļi racam vaiṭṭukkoļvataṛkaaka vaaļi
vaiṭṭirukkīraan vaaļi ==>
oruvan racam vaiṭṭukkoļvataṛkaaka vaaļi
vaiṭṭirukkīraan vaaļi

5. Subject deletion.

oruvan	racam	vaiukkoļvataṛkaaka	vaaļi	
SD:	N-	N-	Purp. phr.-	N-
	1	2	3	4
	vaiṭṭirukkīraan	vaaļi		
	Vb-	N		
	5	6		

SC: 1.....6 ==> 2 3 4 5 6 (where 4=6)
 oruvan racam vaittukkovaltarkaaka vaali
 vaittirukkiraan vaali ==>
 racam vaittukkovaltarkaaka vaali vaittirukkiraan vaali

6. *Relativisation.*

racam vaittukkolvaṭṭarkaaka vaali vaittirukkiraan vaali

SD: N- purp.phr.-- N- Vb- N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1.....5 ==> 1 2 3 4 RP 5 (where 3 5

racam vaittukkolvatarkaaka vaali vaittirukkira

vaali = = = ⇒

racam vaittukkolyatarkkaaka vaali vaittirukkira vaali

7. Relative participle reduction

racam vaittukkolvatarkaaka vaittirukkira vaali

SD:	N...	Purp.-phr.-	N—	Vb	RP—	N
1	2	3	4	5	6	

SC: 1.....6 ==> 1 2 3 6 (where 3—5)

racam vaittukkolvataarkaaka vaali vaittirukkira vaali ==>
racam vaittukkolvataarkaaka vaali vaali

8. Purposive phrase deletion.

racam vaittukko{l}vatarkaaka vaali vaali => =
racam vaali vaali

9. *Equi-NP deletion.*

racam vaali vaali

SD: N— N— N
1 2 3

racam vaali vaali ==>

racam vsali

racam + vaali \Rightarrow **raca vaali** morphophonemically

Similarly other compounds also undergo morphophonemic changes.

eg: ṭuṇi + pai	==>	tuṇi-p-pai
uuruṇkaay + caaṭi	==>	uuruṇkaay-c-caaṭi
taṇṇiir + totti	==>	taṇṇiir-t-totti

2.2.5. Locative + Object

- A.1. neṛri-c-cuṭṭi "ornament (worn) on the forehead"
- 2. tolu matṭu "cow in the cattle shed"
- B. koorṭṭuvicaaranai "enquiry in the court"
- C. Kaṭai-c-carakku "market commodity"

The above sets of compounds show a relationship of "Locative + Objective". The first constituent denotes the location where something is done. This action involves an object which is denoted by the second member. This set is classified into subsets A, B and C based on the source verbs involved. The source verbs in turn are determined on the basis of the object involved. Set A involves the source verb kaṭṭu "to tie"; set B involves the verbs naṭṭatu "to conduct" or cey "to do" and C involves a verb vil "to sell" or vaṇṇku "to buy". Accordingly the suitable source sentences are given below.

- A.1.a. oruṭṭi neiyil cuṭṭiyai-k-kaṭṭukiraal
"Someone (a woman) ties an ornament on the forehead",
- A.2.a. oruvan toluvil maaṭṭai-k-kaṭṭukiraan
"Someone ties a cow in the cattle shed",

B.1. oruvan kooṛṭṭil vicaaraṇaiyai naṭṭukirāan

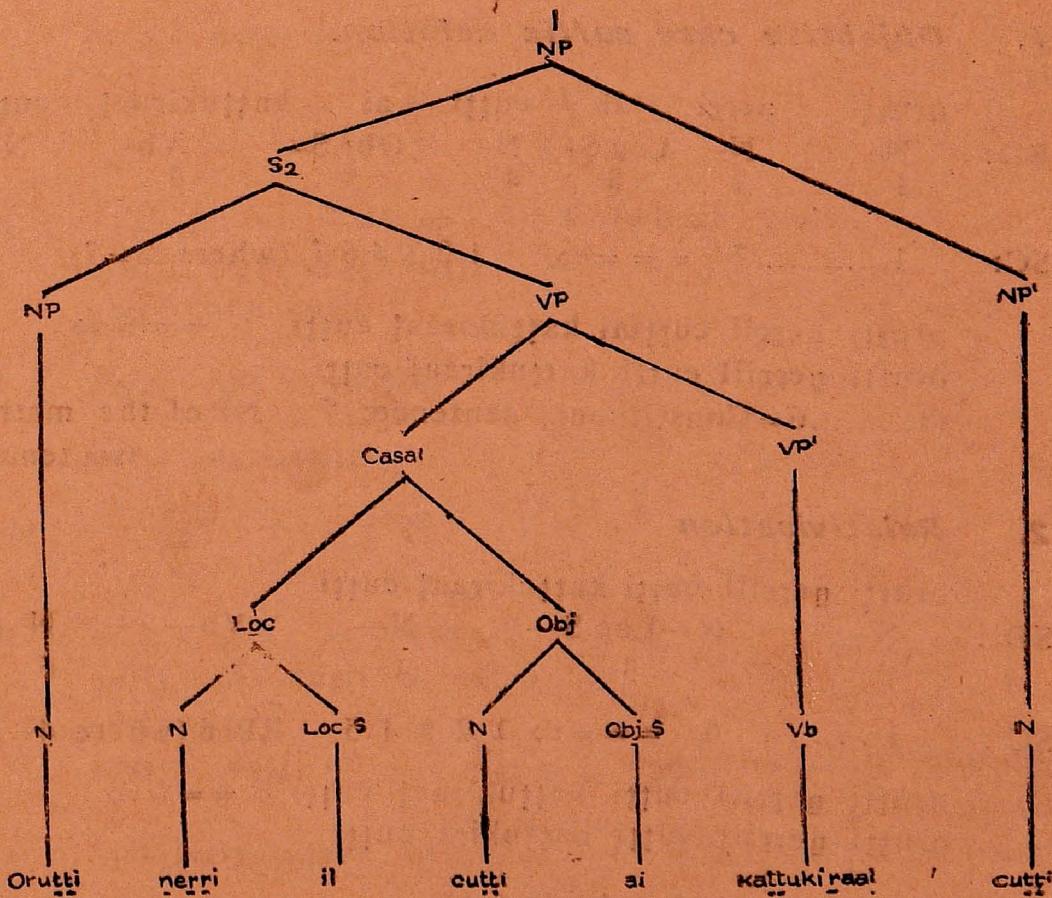
“Someone conducts the enquiry in the court”

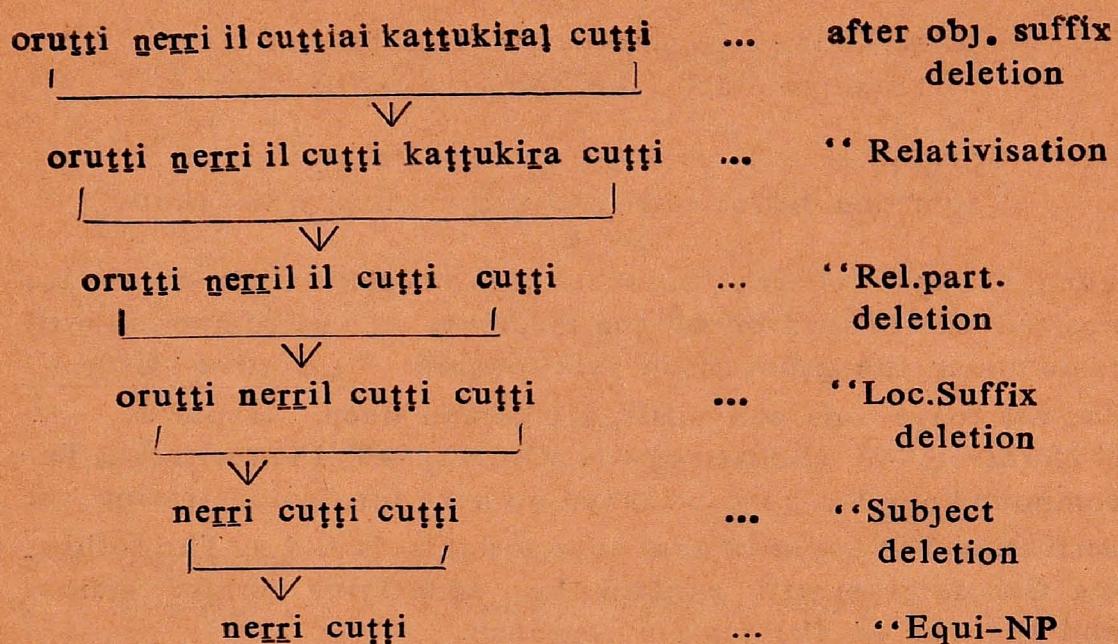
C.1. oruvan kaṭaiyil carakkai vaankukirāan / virkiraan

“Someone buys / sells the commodity in the shop”

Even though different source verbs or generalised verbs are posited the behaviour of the members of the compound will come under the generalised relationship “Locative+Object”

For all these one can posit a common deep structures viz. N (Subject)+N (Locative)+N (Object) +V (Transitive). The compound nerri-c-cutṭi is taken up here for demonstrating the derivation. The source sentence for this is A.1.a. The following tree diagram will explain the underlying phrase marker and the NP of the matrix sentence.





The detailed derivation is explained below.

1. Objective case suffix deletion.

SD:	orut̄ti	<u>nerri</u>	il	cuṭṭi	ai	kaṭṭukiraal	cuṭṭi	
	N-	N-	Loc.S-	N-	Obj.S-	Vb-	N	7

SC: 1.....7 ==> 1 2 3 4 6 7 (where 2=7)

orut̄ti nerril cuṭṭiai kaṭṭukiraal cuṭṭi ==>

orut̄ti nerriil cuṭṭi kaṭṭukiraal cuṭṭi

(1.....6 = Constituent sentence; 7 = NP of the matrix sentence)

2. Relativisation

orut̄ti nerriiil cuṭṭi kaṭṭukiraal cuṭṭi

SD :	N—	N—Loc.S—	N—	Vb—	N
	1	2 3	4	5	6

SC : 1.....6 ==> 1 2 3 4 5 RP 6 (where 4=6)

orut̄ti nerriiil cuṭṭi kaṭṭukiraal cuṭṭi ==>

orut̄ti nerriiil cuṭṭi kaṭṭukira cuṭṭi

3. Relative participle deletion

orut̄ti nerriiil cuṭṭi kaṭṭukira cuṭṭi

SD : N— N—Loc.S— N— Vb RP— N
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC : 1 7 \Rightarrow 1 2 3 4 7 (where 4 = 7)
 orut̄ti nerriil cuṭṭi kaṭṭukira cuṭṭi \Rightarrow
 orut̄ti nerriil cuṭṭi cuṭṭi

4. Locative case suffix deletion

orut̄ti nerriil cuṭṭi cuṭṭi

SD : N— N—Loc.S— N— N
 1 2 3 4 5

SC : 1 5 \Rightarrow 1 2 4 5 (where 4 = 5)
 orut̄ti nerriil cuṭṭi cuṭṭi \Rightarrow
 orut̄ti nerri cuṭṭi cuṭṭi

5. Subject deletion

orut̄ti nerri cuṭṭi cuṭṭi

SD : N— N— N— N
 1 2 3 4

SC : 1 4 \Rightarrow 2 3 4 (where 3 = 4)
 orut̄ti nerri cuṭṭi cuṭṭi \Rightarrow
nerri cuṭṭi cuṭṭi

6. Equi-NP deletion

nerri cuṭṭi cuṭṭi

SD : N— N— N
 1 2 3

SC : 1 3 \Rightarrow 1 3

nerri cuṭṭi cuṭṭi \Rightarrow

nerri cuṭṭi

nerri cuṭṭi \Rightarrow nerri-c-cuṭṭi morpho-
 phonemically

Simalarly kaṭai carakku \Rightarrow kaṭai-c-carakku

2.2.6. Temporal Object

The following compounds show a relationship of

“Temporal + Object”.

1. kaalai-c-ceyti	“morning news”
2. maṭiya uṇavu	“noon meals”
3. pakal kaaṭci	“matinee show”
4. iraa-c-caappaṭu	“night meals” “supper”
5. maalaivakuppu	“evening class”

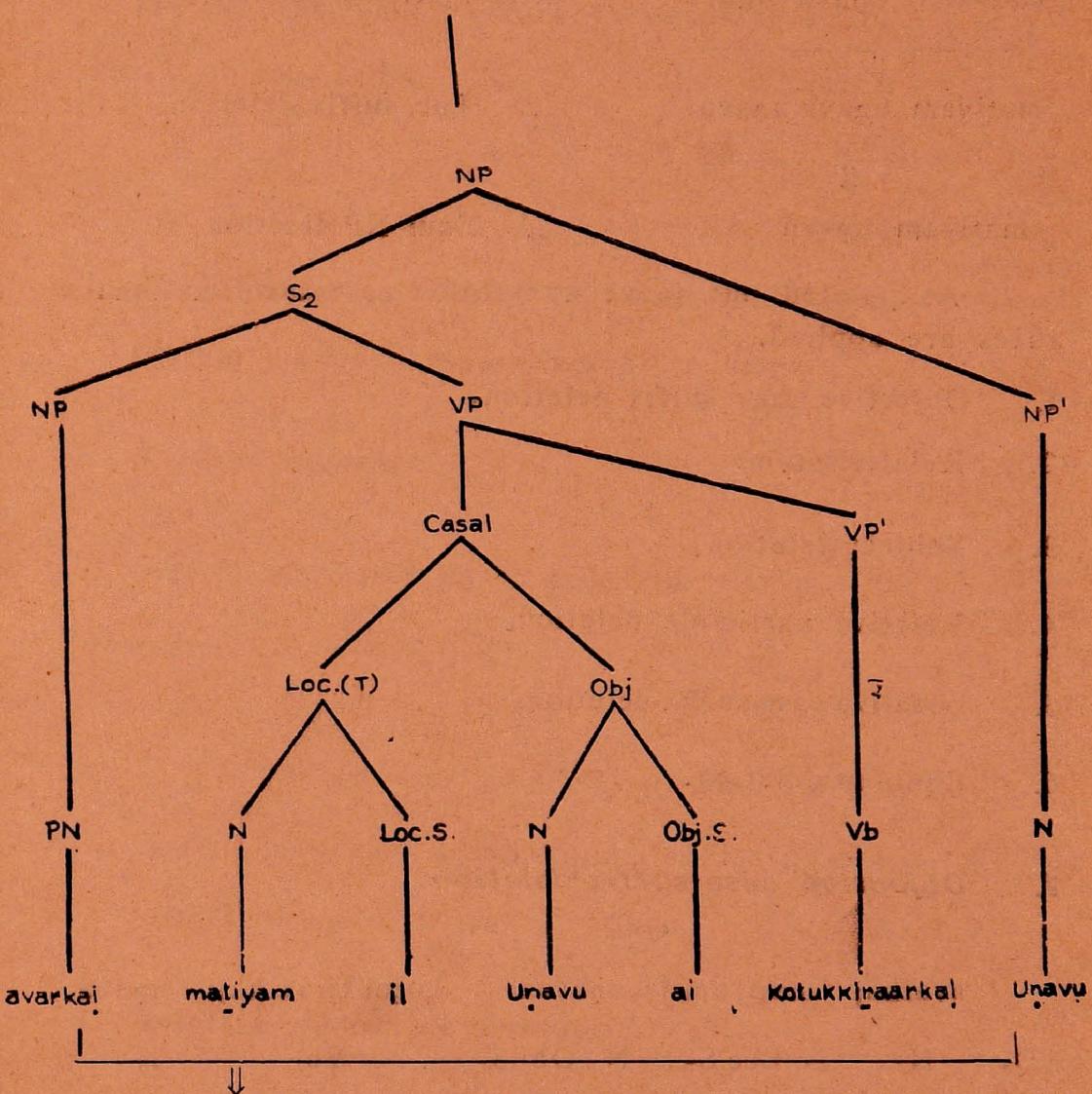
When the above compounds are expanded they appear with the locative case marker-*il*. Though they appear with the locative suffix they are not considered as real locatives because they do not really refer to locatives but only time, as pointed out later in the section on “Temporal + Subject”. (2.4.6)

The following are the source sentences for the above compounds.

- 1.a. avarkaṭ kaalaiyil ceyti-y-ai-p-paṭikkiraṛkaṭ
“They read the news in the morning”
- 2.a. avarkal maṭiyattil uṇavai-k-koṭukkiraṛkaṭ/
tarukiraṛkaṭ / pooṭukiraṛkaṭ
“They give food at noon”
- 3.a. avaṛkaṭ pakalil kaacṭiyai-k-kaaṭṭukiraṛkaṭ
“They show the show in the daytime”.
- 4.a. avarkat iravil caappaṭai-c-caappiṭukiraṛkaṭ
“They eat the food at night”
- 5.a. avarkaṭ maalaiyil vakuppai naṭṭukiraṛkaṭ
“They conduct the class in the evening”

From the above it will be seen that the first member of the compound refers to the time when something is done and the second member denotes what is done at that time. Here the relation is “Temporal+Object”. It is needless to say that the source verbs have to be posited according to the object nouns present in the compound. The following deep structure could be posited for the above sentences: N (Subject) + N (Object) + Temporal + Verb (Tr). The compounds are derived from their respective source sentences which have the above deep structure. The compound maṭiya uṇavu is taken up here for demonstration. The source sentence for this will be 2.a given below.

Tree Diagram showing the base phrase marker etc.



avarka matiyamil uavu koṭukkiraarka uavu ...after obj.
suffix deletion

avarka matiyamil uavu koṭukkira uavu ...after Rel-
ativisation

As pointed out above the following transformational rules are applied.

1. Objective case suffix deletion.
2. Relativisation.
3. Subject deletion.
4. Relative participle deletion.
5. Locative case suffix deletion.
6. Equi-np deletion.

1. Objective case suffix deletion

avarkaʃ	maʃiyamɪl	uŋavuai	koʃukkɪ <u>ra</u> aʃkaʃ	uŋavu
SD:	N-	N-Loc.S-	N- Obj.S-	Vb-
1	2	3	4	5

SC: 1.....7 ==> 1 2 3 4 6 7 (where 4 = 7)

avarkał maṭiyamil uŋavuai koṭukkiṛaarkał unavu ==⇒

avarkał matiyamil uŋavu kołukkiraarkał uŋavu

(1.....6 = constituent sentence; 7 = NP of the matrix sentence)

2. *Relativisation*

avarkał maṭiyamil uṇavu koṭukkiraarkał uṇavu

SD: N- N-Loc.S- N- Vb- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 6 ==> 1 2 3 4 5 + RP 6 (where 4 = 6)

avarkał maṭiyamil uṇavu koṭukkiraarkał uṇavu ==>

avarkał maṭiyamil uṇavu koṭukkira uṇavu

3. *Subject deletion*

avarkał maṭiyamil uṇavu koṭukkira uṇavu

SD: N- N-Loc.S- N- Vb+RP- N
 SD: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1 . . . 7 ==> 2 3 4 5 6 7 (where 4 = 7)

avarkał maṭiyamil uṇavu koṭukkira uṇavu ==>

maṭiyamil uṇavu koṭukkira uṇavu

4. *Relative participle deletion*

maṭiyamil uṇavu koṭukkira uṇavu

SD: N-Loc.S- N- Vb+RP- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 . . . 6 ==> 1 2 3 6 (where 3 = 6)

maṭiyamil uṇavu koṭukkira uṇavu ==>

maṭiyamil uṇavu uṇavu

5. Locative case suffix deletion

maṭiyamil uṇavu uṇavu

SD: N-Loc.S- N- N
1 2 3 4

SC: 1 4 ==> 1 2 3 (where 3 = 4)

maṭiyamil uṇavu uṇavu ==>
maṭiyam uṇavu uṇavu

6. Equi-NP deletion

maṭiyam uṇavu uṇavu

SD: N- N- N
1 2 3

SC: 1 3 ==> 1 3

maṭiyam uṇavu uṇavu ==>

maṭiyam uṇavu

maṭiyam+uṇavu after morphonemic changes become

matiya uṇavu

2.2.7. Adverb + Object

It is generally said that only nouns occurring in particular grammatical relationship combine together to become compounds at the surface level. It is proposed here that this theory needs revision in the light of the material one finds in Tamil. In Tamil one gets a set of compounds

whose constituents show a grammatical relationship as that of between "adverb + object". The deeper level adverb is nominalised at the surface level and becomes the first member of the compound. This in turn functions like an attribute. The second member, the object of the deeper sentence becomes the second member and functions as the head word. Consider the following examples.

1. tappu- k-kaṇakku "wrong calculation"
2. viraivu vanṭi "speedy vehicle"
3. keṭṭi viiṭu "strong house"
4. cella-k-kulaṇṭai "dear baby"
5. valleluṭṭu "hard sound"

The following expressions seem to be semantically identical with 1, 2&3.

- 1.a. tappaana-kaṇakku "The calculation which is wrong",
- 2.a. viraivaana vanṭi "The vehicle which is fast"
- 3.a. keṭṭiyaana viiṭu "The house which is strong"

Like this when we try to construct similar expressions with reference to 4 and 5 we get into difficulty. For,

- 4.a. cellamaana kuṇṭai "The child which is dear"
- 5.a. vanmaiyaana eļuṭṭu "The sound which is hard"

would mean something which is unacceptable. It is not the child which is dear but the person who rears the baby considers it as "dear". Similarly in 5.a. it is not the sound which is hard i.e. it is not the quality of the sound to be

hard or soft but its pronunciation. Coming again to expressions 1.a. 2.a. and 3.a. still one can argue that by nature, the calculation or sum is not wrong i.e. is not the quality of the sum but someone did it wrongly. In viraivaana van̄ti, again one cannot say that there is connection between the attribute "speedy" and "vehicle" directly because the quality "speed" is not the inherent quality of the vehicle. Similarly in keṭṭiyaana viṭu the "strongness" of the house is not natural but is the result of some careful work. In other words one cannot say that the attributes, i.e. the first members, are real attributes of the following nouns. Of course this is true in the surface level. But a careful analysis will reveal that in the deeper level these are all attributes to the source verbs and as such they are real adverbials. This could be demonstrated further with an example from English. "Fast Train" is a compound noun in English and an expanded, semantically identical expression for this will be "fastly moving train". Here one can easily find that "fast" is really an attribute to the verb "move" and as such it should be treated as an adverbial. The "train" does not have the potential meaning "fast". Hence a fastly moving train is referred to a "fast train". Similarly in Tamil the compound vankai "hard hand" when expanded, like above, gives the form "vanmaiyaana kai" meaning "the hand which is hard". Here also the attribute is not the attribute to the noun in the source sentence. See the following sentence. "kai vanmaiyaaka irukkiraṭu" "The hand is hard". When relativisation takes place it becomes "vanmaiyaaka irukkira kai". "The hand which is hard". It will be seen here that the attribute vanmaiyaaka is really a modifier to the verb "irukkum" rather than kai". As such it should be treated as only an adverb. In the light of these observations we now pass on to discuss the derivation of the compounds given above.

The following source sentences reveal the real grammatical relationship between the constituents of the compounds 1 to 5 respectively.

1.b. oruvan kaṇakkai-t-ṭappaaka-p-pooṭṭaan / ceyṭaan
 “Someone did the calculation / sum wrongly”
 (Both pooṭṭu and ‘cey’ can be taken as source verbs here)

2.b. oruvan vanṭiyai viraivaaka ooṭṭinaan / celutṭinaan
 “Someone drove the vehicle fast”
 (Both ooṭṭu and celutṭu are possible here)

3.b. oruvan viiṭṭai-k-keṭṭiyaaka-k-kaṭṭinaan
 “Someone built the house strongly”

4.b. oruvan kuļaṇṭaiyai-c-cellamaaka vaṭarkkiṭaaan
 “Someone rears the baby dearly”

5.b. oruvan eļutṭai vanmaiyaaka olikkiṭaaan
 “one pronounces the sound hardly”

After relativisation the above sentence are nominalised into

1.c. oruvan ṭappaaka-p-pooṭṭa kaṇakku
 “The calculation / sum which was wrongly done by someone”

2.c. oruvan viraivaaka ooṭṭiya vanṭi
 “The vehicle which was fastly driven by someone”

3.c. oruvan keṭṭiyaaka-k-kaṭṭiya viiṭu
 “The house which was strongly built by someone”

4.c. oruvan cellamaaka vaṭarkkum kuḷaṇṭai

“The baby which was reared dearly by someone”

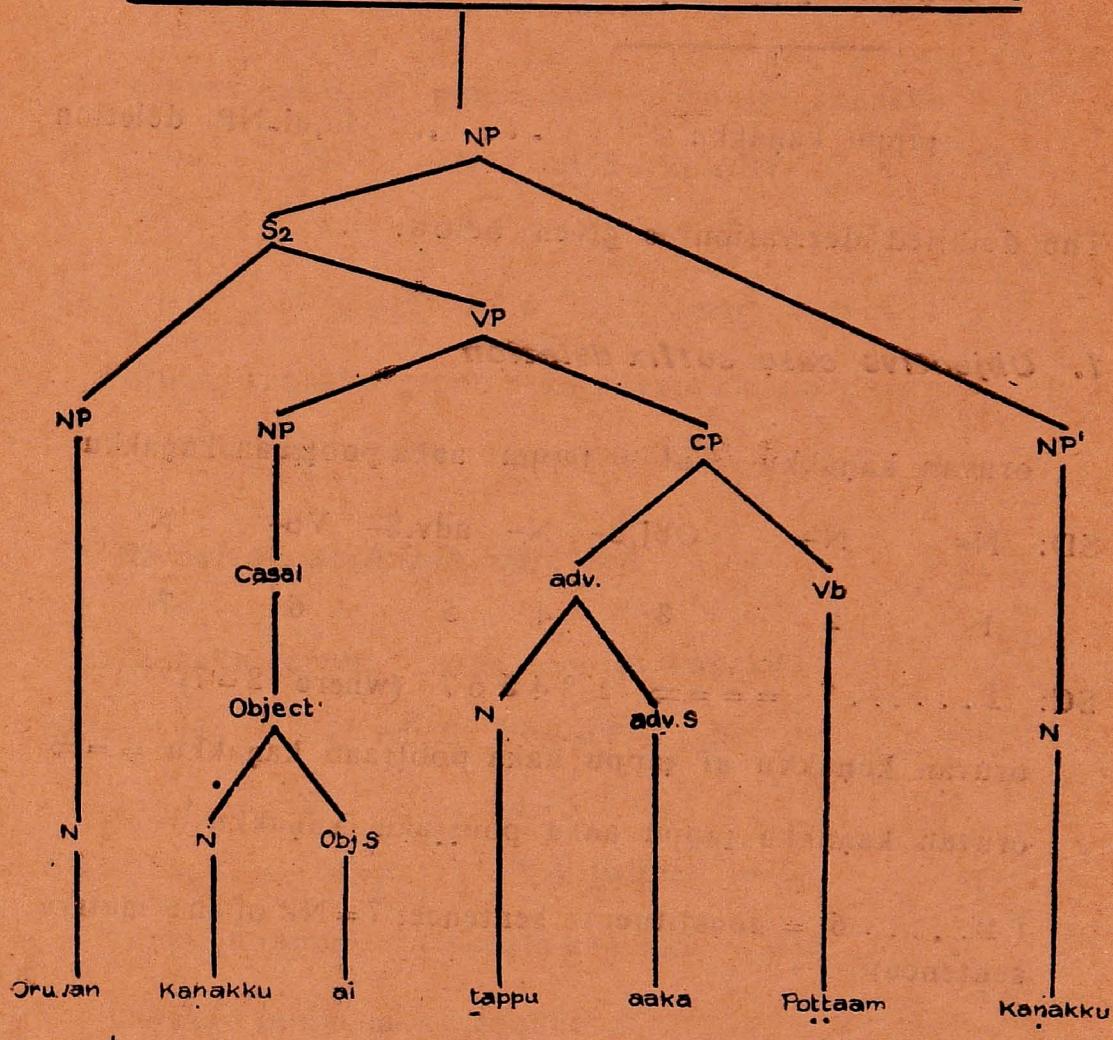
5.c. oruvan vanmaiyyakka olikkum eluṭṭu

“The sound which was pronounced hardly by someone”

respectively. Thus it will be seen that in all the above sentences that the attributes i.e. the first members of the compounds under discussion, are really adverbs and they modified only the source verbs. Though they occur as attributes to the following nouns in the surface level they need not be identified with adjectivals and thus nouns. They are really nominalised adverbs.

The common deep syntactic structure for these could be taken as N (Subject) + N(Object) + Adverb + Verb. The derivation of the compound tappu-k-kaṇakku from the source sentence 1 (b) is demonstrated below.

Base phrase marker and NP of the matrix sentence.



oruvan kaṇakku tappuaaka poot̄aañ kaṇakku ... after obj.

suffix deletion

oruvan kanakku tappuaaka pootta kanakku

"Relativisation

kaṇakku tappuaaka pootta kanakku

'' Subject deletion

kaṇakku ṭappu aaka kaṇakku . . . after Rel.part deletion

kaṇakku ṭappu kaṇakku . . . after adv.suffix deletion
 ↓

ṭappu kaṇakku . . . , Equi-NP deletion

The detailed derivation is given below.

1. Objective case suffix deletion

oruvan kaṇakku ai ṭappu aaka poot̄taan kaṇakku

SD: N- N- Obj.S- N- adv.S- Vb- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1 7 ==> 1 2 4 5 6 7 (where 2 = 7)

oruvan kaṇakku ai ṭappu aaka poot̄taan kaṇakku ==>
 oruvan kaṇakku ṭappu aaka poot̄taan kaṇakku

(1 6 = constituent sentence; 7 = NP of the matrix sentence)

2. Relativisation

oruvan kaṇakku ṭappu aaka poot̄taan kaṇakku

SD: N- N- N- adv.S- Vb- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 . . . , 6 ==> 1 2 3 4 5 + RP 6 (where 2 = 6)

oruvan kaṇakku ṭappu aaka poot̄taan kaṇakku ==>
 oruvan kaṇakku ṭappu aaka poot̄ta kaṇakku

3. *Subject deletion*

oruvan kaṇakku ṭappu aaka poot̪a kaṇakku

SD: N- N- N- adv.S- Vb+RP- N
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1.....7 ==> 2 3 4 5 6 7 (where 2 = 7)

oruvan kaṇakku ṭappu aaka poot̪a kaṇakku ==>
kaṇakku ṭappu aaka poot̪a kaṇakku

4. *Relative participle deletion*

kaṇakku ṭappu aaka poot̪a kaṇakku

SD: N- N- adv.S- Vb+RP- N
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1.....6 ==> 1 2 3 4 (where 1 = 6)

kaṇakku ṭappu aaka poot̪a kaṇakku ==>
kaṇakku ṭappu aaka kaṇakku

5. *Adverbial suffix deletion*

kaṇakku ṭappu aaka kaṇakku

SD: N- N- adv.S- N-
1 2 3 4

SC: 1.....4 ==> 1 2 4 (where 1 = 4)

kaṇakku ṭappu aaka kaṇakku ==>
kaṇakku ṭappu kaṇakku

6. *Equi-NP deletion*

kanakku tappu kanakku

SD: N- N- N-

SC : 1.....3 ==> 2 3

kaṇakku ṭappu kaṇakku ==>
ṭappu kanakku

ṭappu+kaṇakku = -> **ṭappu-k-kaṇakku**
morphophonemically

Similarly *cellam* + *kułantai* ==> *cella-k-kulantai*

Val + eluttu ==> val-1-eluttu

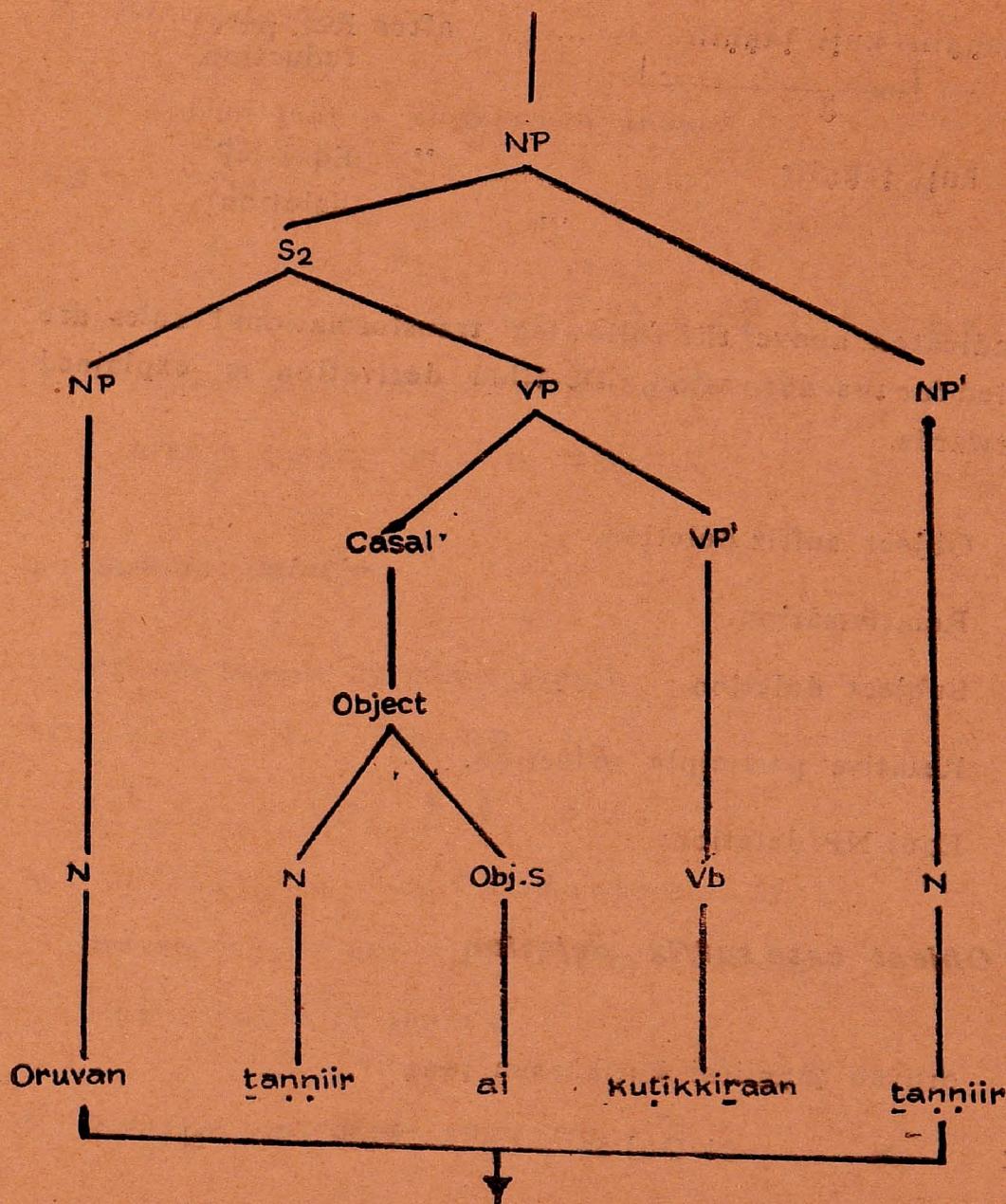
2.2.8 Verb (Predicate) + Object.

1.	kuṭi ṭaṇṇiir	“drinking water”
2.	pooṭu maṇ	“dumped mud”
3.	vara kaṭalai	“roasted ground-nut”
4.	utai kal	“broken stone”

Compounds of the above type show a Verb + Object relation. The first member refers to the action of the Subject and the second member denotes the object. It is interesting to note that the source verbs themselves appear as first member of the compounds. See the following source sentences.

1.a. oruvan ṭaṇṇiirai-k-kuṭikkiraan “Someone drinks water”
2.a. oruvan maṇṇai-p-pooṭukkiraan “Someone dumps mud”
3.a. oruvan kaṭalaiyai varukkiraan “Someone roasts the
ground-nut”
4.a. oruvan kallai uṭaikkiraan “Someone breaks the stone”

A common deep structure viz., N(Subject) + N (Object) + verb could be posited for all these source sentences. The example kuṭi tāṇṇiir Could be taken up here for demonstrating the derivation. The source sentence is 1.a. First the tree diagram is given followed by the derivation with T-rules.



oruvan tan̄iir kuṭikkiraan tan̄iir ... after obj. Suffix
 ↓ deletion

oruvan tan̄iir kuṭikkira tan̄iir ... " Relativisation
 ↓

tan̄iir kuṭikkira tan̄iir ... " Subject
 ↓ deletion

tanrıir kuṭi tanrıir ... after Rel. part
| _____ | reduction
↓

kuṭi ṭaṇṇiir " Equi-NP deletion

As indicated above the following transformational rules are applied for the derivation. Detailed derivation is explained afterwards.

1. Object suffix deletion.
2. Relativisation.
3. Subject deletion.
4. Relative participle reduction.
5. Equi-NP deletion.

1. Object case suffix deletion

oruvan tannirai kuttikraan tannir

SD:	N-	N-Obj.S-	Vb-	N
1	2	3	4	5

SC: 1.....5 ==> 1 2 4 5 (where 2 = 5)

oruvan tanniirai kuṭikkiraan tanniir = = = >

oruvan tanniir kutikkiraan tanniir

(1.....4 = constituent sentence; 5 = NP of the matrix sentence)

2. *Relativiation*

oruvan taŋŋiir kuṭikkiraan taŋŋiir

SD: N- N- Vb- N
1 2 3 4

SC: 1.....4 = = = > 1 2 3 + RP 4 (where 2 = 4)

oruvan taŋŋiir kuṭikkiraan taŋŋiir = = = =>

oruvan taŋŋiir kuṭikkira taŋŋiir

3. *Subject deletion*

oruvan taŋŋiir kuṭikkira taŋŋiir

SD: N- N- Vb+RP- N-
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1 5 = = = > 2 3 4 5 (where 2 = 5)

oruvan taŋŋiir kutikkira taŋŋiir = = = =>

taŋŋiir kuṭikkira taŋŋiir

4. *Relative participle reduction*

taŋŋiir kuṭikkira taŋŋiir

SD: N- Vb+RP- N
1 2 3 4

SC: 1 4 = = = > 1 2 4 (where 1 = 4)

taŋŋiir kuṭikkira taŋŋiir = = = >

taŋŋiir kuṭi taŋŋiir

5. *Equi-NP deletion*

taṇṇiir kuṭi taṇṇiir

SD: N- Vb- N

1 2 3

SC: 1 3 ==> 2 3

taṇṇiir kuṭi taṇṇiir == == ==>

kuṭi taṇṇiir

2.3. *Compounds in which the second member is Cognate Object*

3.3.1. *Subject + Cognate Object*

There is a set of compounds which show a relationship of "Subject + Predicate". The second member, i.e., the predicate is a verb which refers to the action of the first member i.e., the subject. In the process the verb is nominalised and this nominalised form refers to the action. The nominalised form i.e., the second member of the compound which is given as cognate object needs some more explanation. Before that let us examine the compounds and their structure.

1. aṇaikut taakku "the attack of the spirit"
2. niir viilcci "the water-falls"
3. puli-p-paayccal "tiger's leap"
4. karaṭi-p-piṭi "the bear's hug"

As explained above the source sentences for these could be traced to the following.

1.a.	añañku ṭaakkiyaṭu	"the spirit attacked"
2.a.	niir viiñkiraṭu	"the water falls"
3.a.	puli paaykiraṭu	"the tiger leaps"
4.a.	karaṭi piṭiṭṭatu	"the bear hugged"

The verbs ṭaakku, piṭi, are transitive verbs. The other verbs viiñ and paay are generally treated as intransitive verbs but they may have to be treated as transitives based on their syntactic behaviour as discussed below.

There are acceptable usages in Tamil like

A. avan oru ṭiruku ṭirukinan

"He made a twist" which is literally

"He twisted a twist"

B. avan oru kuṭi kuṭiṭṭaan

"he made a jump"

i.e., lit. "he jumped a jump"

A is semantically identical with A. 1. avan ṭirukinaan and similarly B is identical with B. 1. avan kuṭiṭṭaan. The verb ṭiruku is taken as transitive and the verb kuṭi is taken as intransitive generally.

In that case some explanation has to be made with regard to the presence of the words ṭiruku and kuṭi before their respective verbs. In the formal level they resemble like the roots of the following verbs. In the syntactic level they function like objects. But this object is different from the object nouns usually occur before transitive verbs. For example we can have a sentence like

C. avan muṭiyai ṭirukinaan "he twisted the cap" where muṭi is an object. The objects like tiruku etc., which are redundant or copied elements of the roots should be called cognate objects because of their similarities with the verbs both at the form and functional levels. Taken in this sense verbs like vii etc, could be explained easily. They are other reasons also. The sentence in which an object and a transitive verb are present could be relativised and we can get a nominal form. For example the sentence,

D. avan palakaiyai uṭaitṭaan "he broke the plank" could relativised into D.a. avan uṭaitṭa palakai "the plank that he broke". We see this same syntactic behaviour with reference to the sentences having cognate objects also. See the following:-

E. karaṭi piṭi piṭittatū "the bear hugged"
lit."the bear hugged a hug"

Sentence E. like D could be nominalised into E. 1. karaṭi piṭittā piṭi "the hug hugged by the bear". This possibility proves that words like kuṭi, piṭi etc., should be treated as cognate objects.

Let us take the compound "karaṭi-p-piṭi" for demonstration. As given above the source sentence for this will be "karaṭi piṭittatū". But in the light of the discussion we have made the deep structure has to be set up suitably. This means that some provision has to be made for the cognate object in the deep structure itself. This is possible only when there is the cognate object verb in the deep structure. When such a cognate object verb is there then the cognate object is predictable. Based on this predictability the cognate object will be marked with an abstract symbol which could be realised in the later state in the process of derivation with an appropriate lexical formative. The following deep structure is suggested.

N(Subject) + X + VX

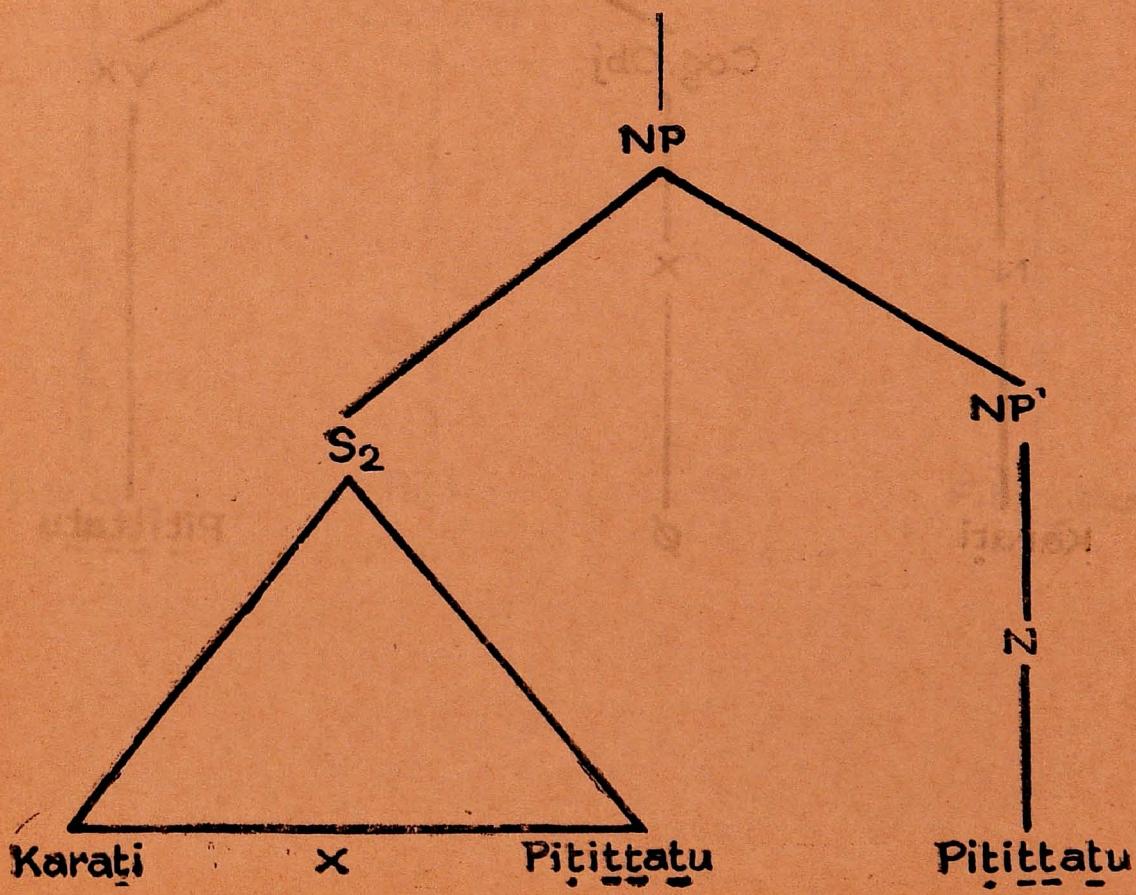
(X = abstract symbol for cognate object; VX = cognate subject verb)

The revised source sentence for the compound karați-p-piți will be:

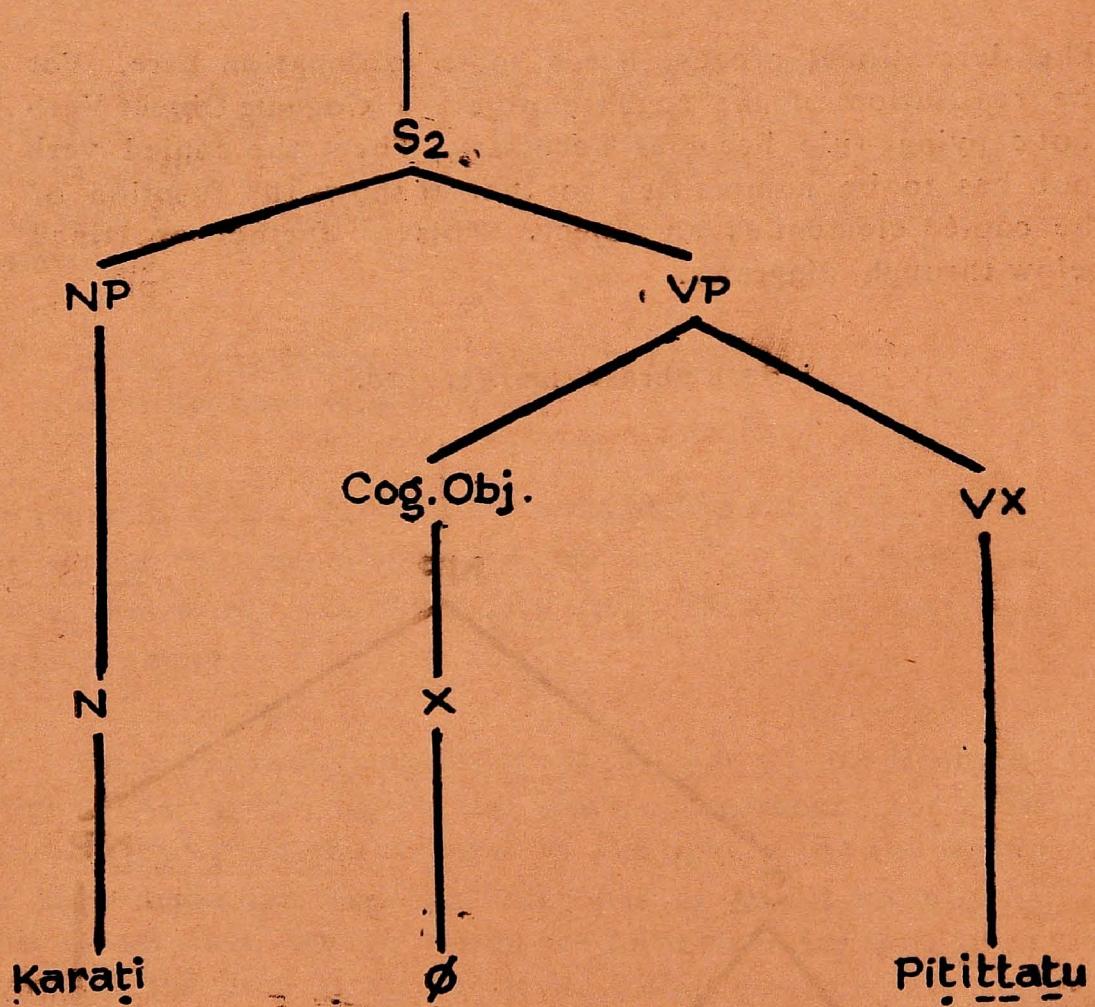
karați-X-pițittătu "The bear hugged"

The derivational process needs some explanation here. For the realisation of the cognate object a Cognate Object Verb root copying rule becomes necessary. Then the copied verb root has to be nominalised so that it shows the function of the copied element as an object. This is further explained below through diagrams.

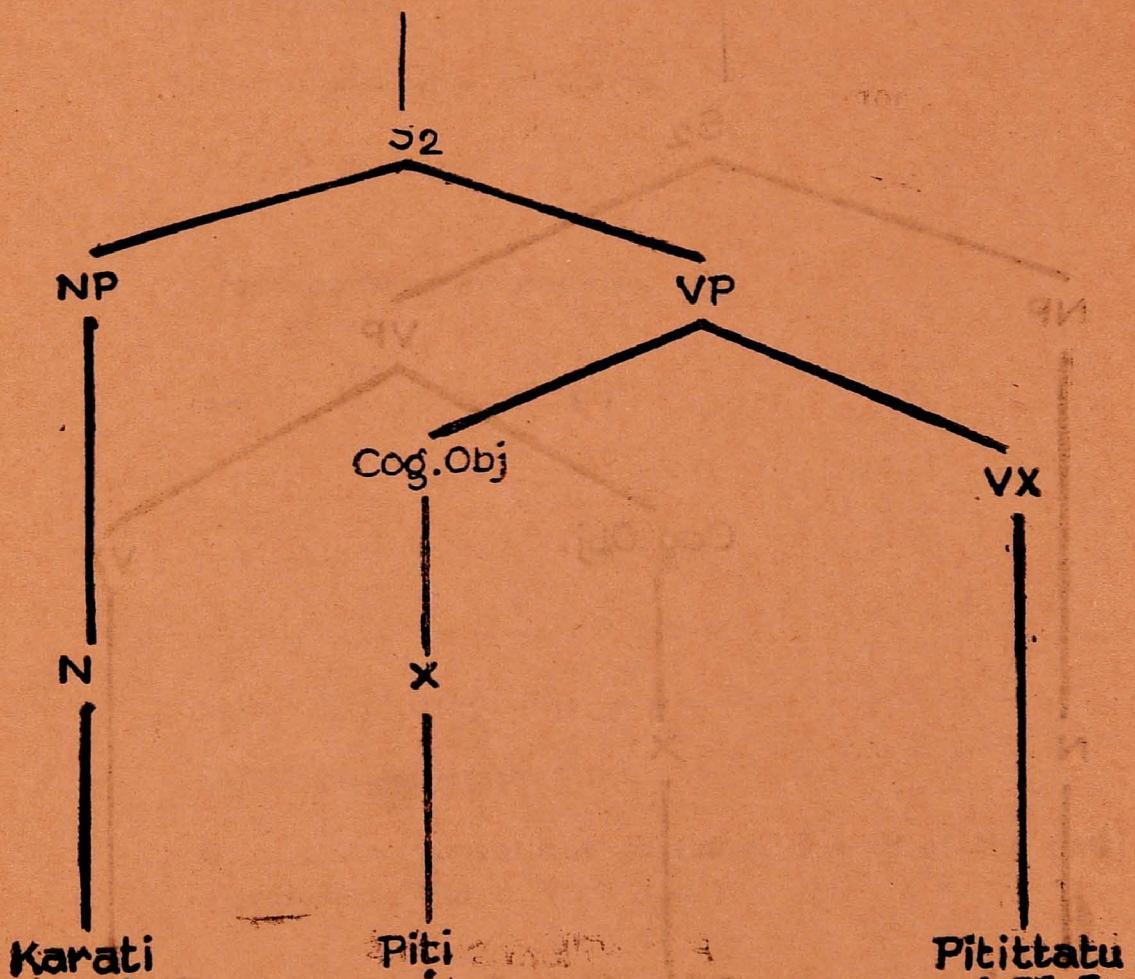
Base phrase marker etc.



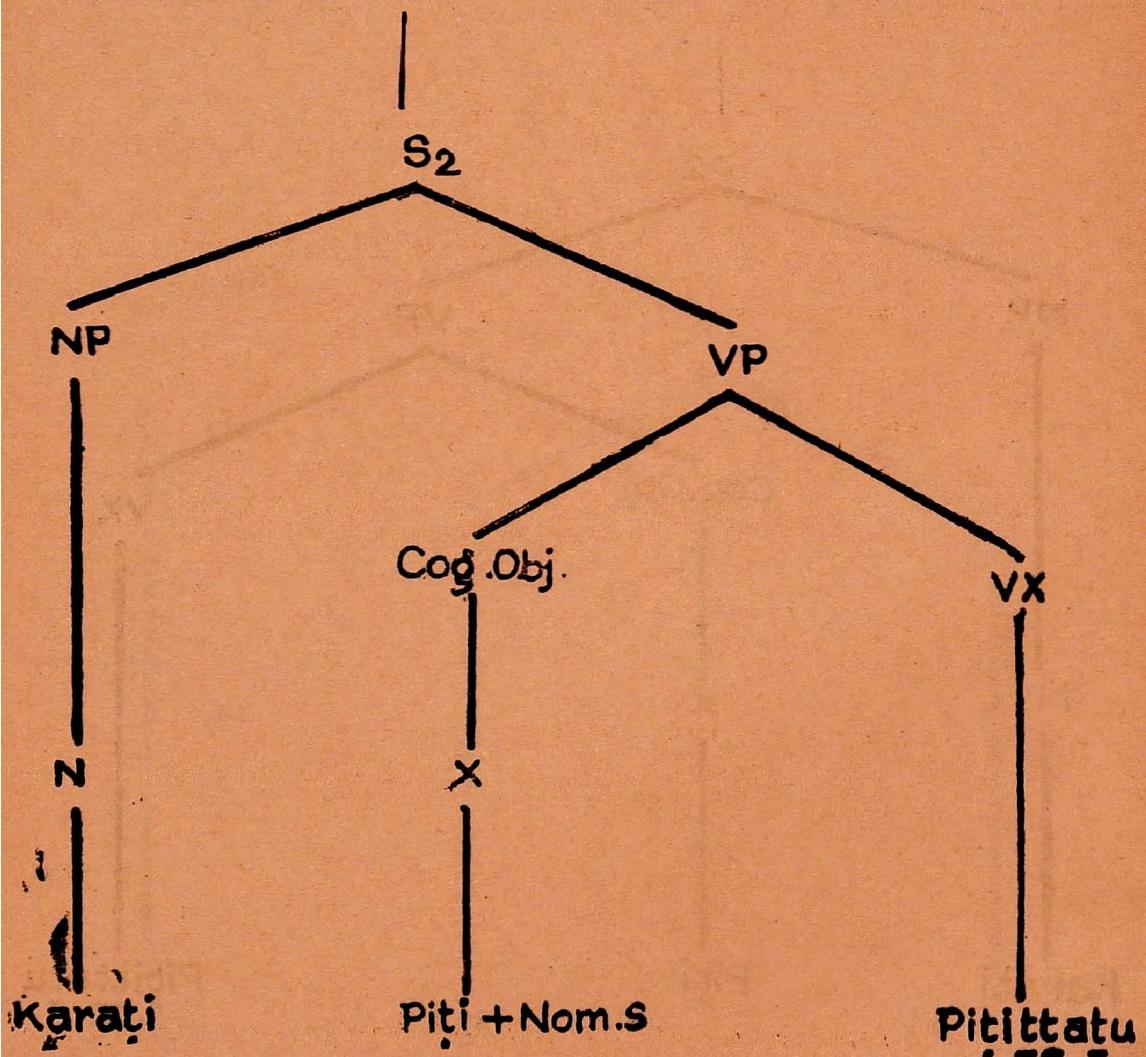
2) The expansion of S_2 is demonstrated below :



3) The realisation of X is demonstrated below :



4) The nominalisation of the verb root is explained below :



The following transformational rules are applied.

1. X-replacement by copying VX
2. Nominalisation of the copied root
3. Cognate object shifting
4. Relativisation
5. Relative participle reduction
6. Equi-NP deletion.

1. **X-replacement by copying VX**

karaṭi X piṭṭataṭu piṭi

SD:	N-	X-	Vbr+T	N
	1	2	3 4	5

SC: 1.....5 ==> 1 5 3 4 5

karaṭi X piṭṭataṭu piṭi ==>

karati piṭi-piṭṭataṭu piti

(1.....4 = constituent sentence, 5 = NP of the matrix sentence) Vbr = Verb root)

2. **Nominalisation of the copied root**

karaṭi piṭi- piṭṭataṭu piṭi

SD:	N-	Vbr.-	Vb-	N
	1	2	3	4

SC: 1.....4 ==> 1 2 + Nom.S 3 4

karaṭi piṭi-piṭittatū piṭi \Rightarrow

karaṭi piṭi piṭittatū piṭi

(piṭi + Nom.S \Rightarrow piṭi morphophonemically)

3. Cognate Object Shifting

karaṭi piṭi piṭittatū piṭi

SD: N- N- Vb- N
1 2 3 4

SC: 1 . . . 4 \Rightarrow 1 3 2 4 (where 2=4)

karaṭi piṭi piṭittatū piṭi \Rightarrow

karoṭi piṭittatū piṭi piṭi

4. Relativisation

karaṭi piṭittatū piṭi piṭi

SD: N- Vb- N- N
1 2 3 4

SC: 1 4 \Rightarrow 1 2 + RP 3 4 (where 3=4)

karaṭi piṭittatū piṭi piṭi \Rightarrow

karaṭi piṭitta piṭi piṭi

(piṭittatū + RP \Rightarrow piṭitta morphophonemically)

5. Relative participle reduction

karaṭi piṭitta piṭi piṭi

SD: N- Vb+RP- N- N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1. 5 ==> 1 4 5 (where 4 = 5)

karaṭi piṭṭa piṭi piṭi ==>

karaṭi piṭi piṭi

6. *Equi-NP deletion*

karaṭi piṭi piṭi

SD: N- N- N

1 2 3

SC: 1 3 ==> 1 3

karaṭi piṭi piṭi ==>

karaṭi piti

After morphophonemic changes karaṭi + piṭi ==>

karaṭi-p. piṭi

2.3.2. *Object + Cognate Object*

1. kuuṭai muṭaiṭal	“basket weaving”
2. kaṭar viṭpanai	“khadi sales”
3. ṭeeni vaṭarṭṭal vaṭarppu”	“bee keeping” lit. bee rearing
4. muṭi ṭiruṭṭal	“hair dressing” lit. “hair correcting”
5. pommai ceyṭal	“doll making”

Compounds of the above form another set showing a relationship of object + cognate object. The second member in all these compounds is a verbal noun denoting an action. This verbal noun is really the nominalised form of the Predicate verb of the source sentence and function as an object. As suggested

earlier this is treated as the cognate object based on its relation with the source verb. The first member is the object of the source sentence occurring before the cognate object. The deep structure, for all the source sentences of the above compounds could be:

$$N(\text{Subject}) + N(\text{Object}) + X = VX$$

(X = cognate object; VX = cognate object verb)

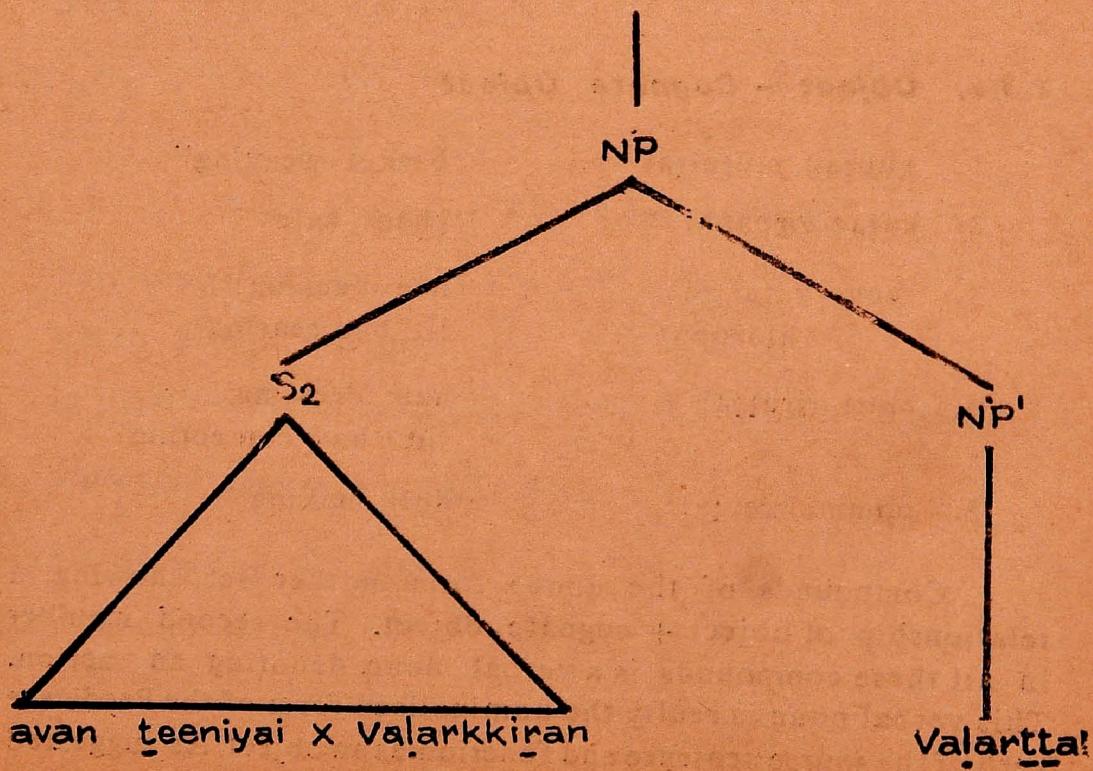
The compound teenii valarttal is taken up here for demonstration. The source sentence for this compound is

3.a. avan teeniyai X valarkkiraan

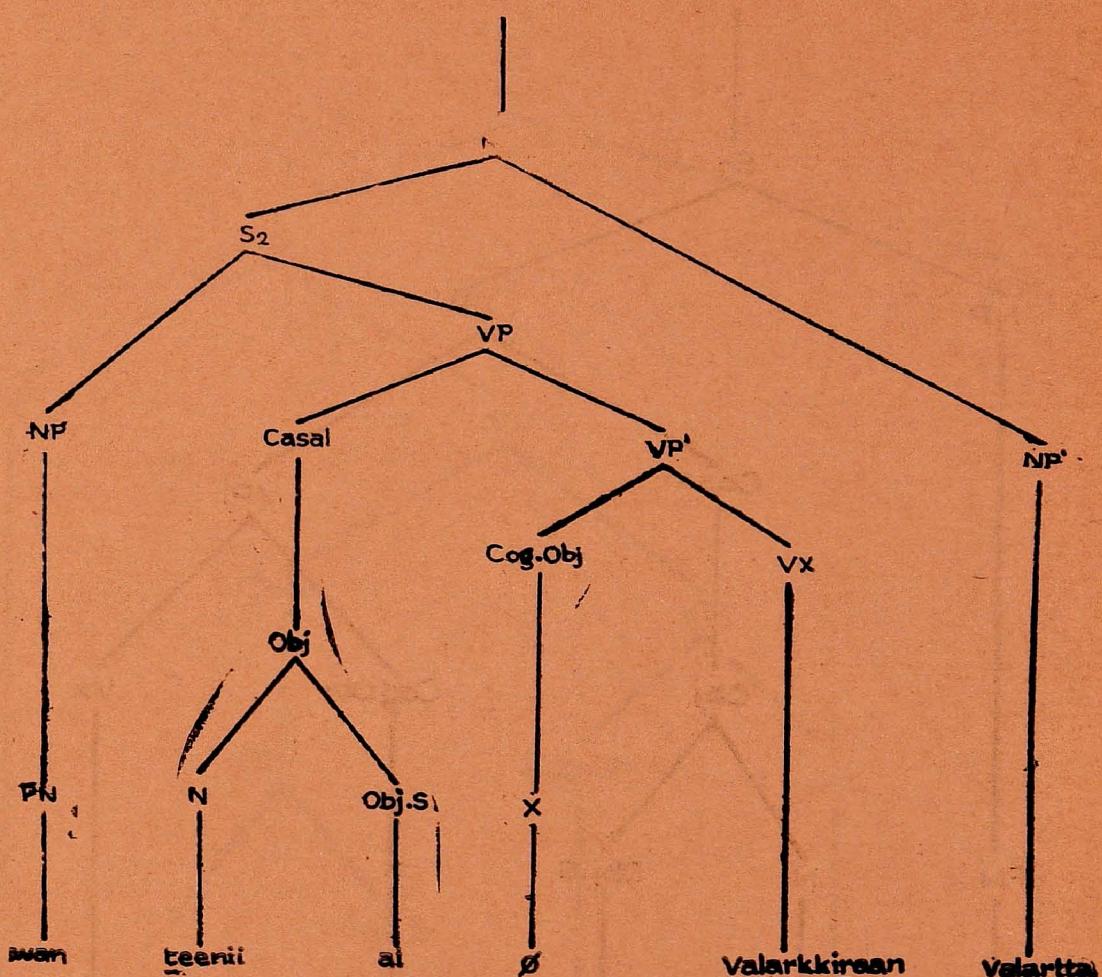
“He rears the bees”

The following tree diagrams explain the derivational process in several stages.

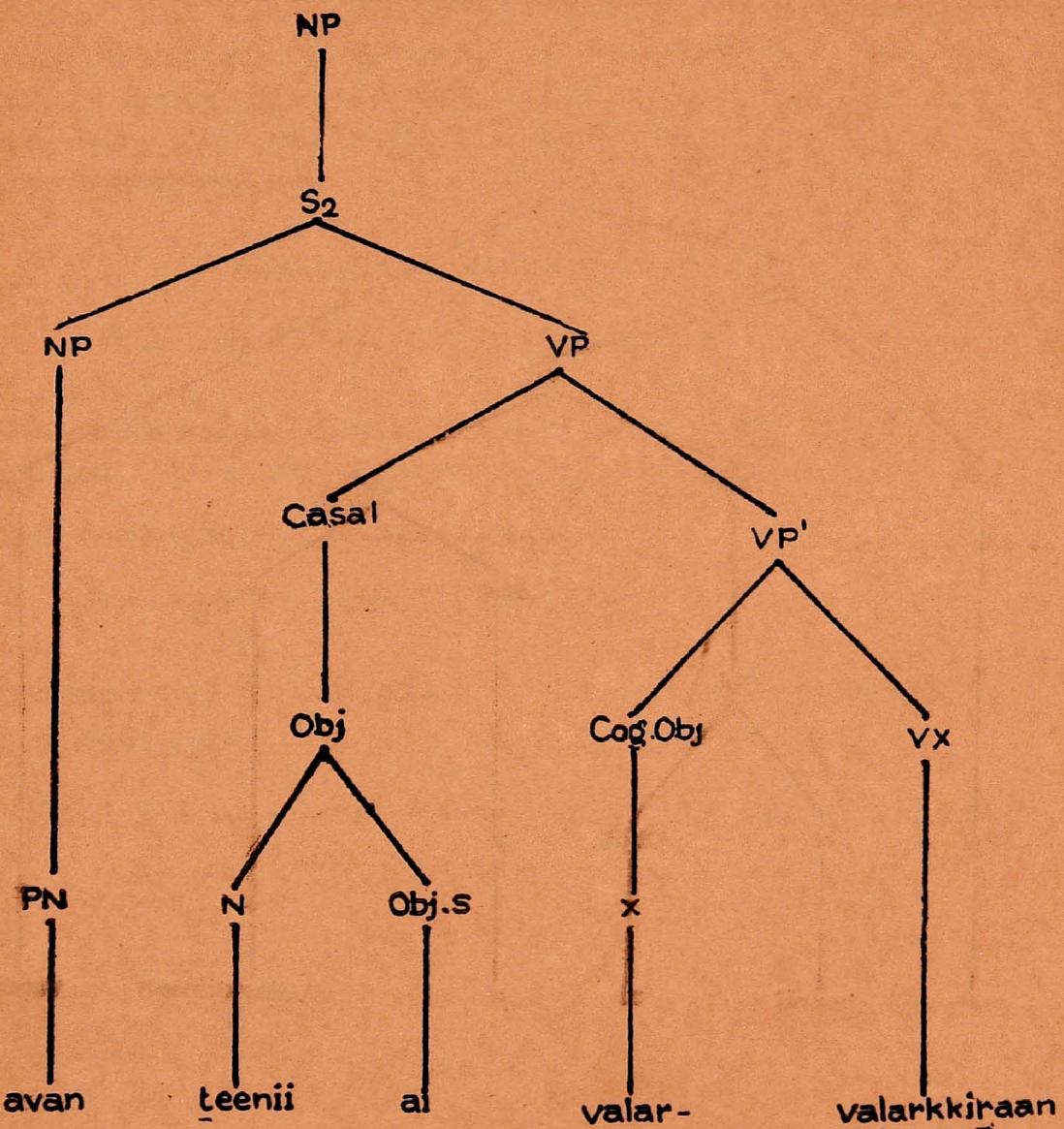
Stage 1) The constituent sentence + NP of the matrix sentence.



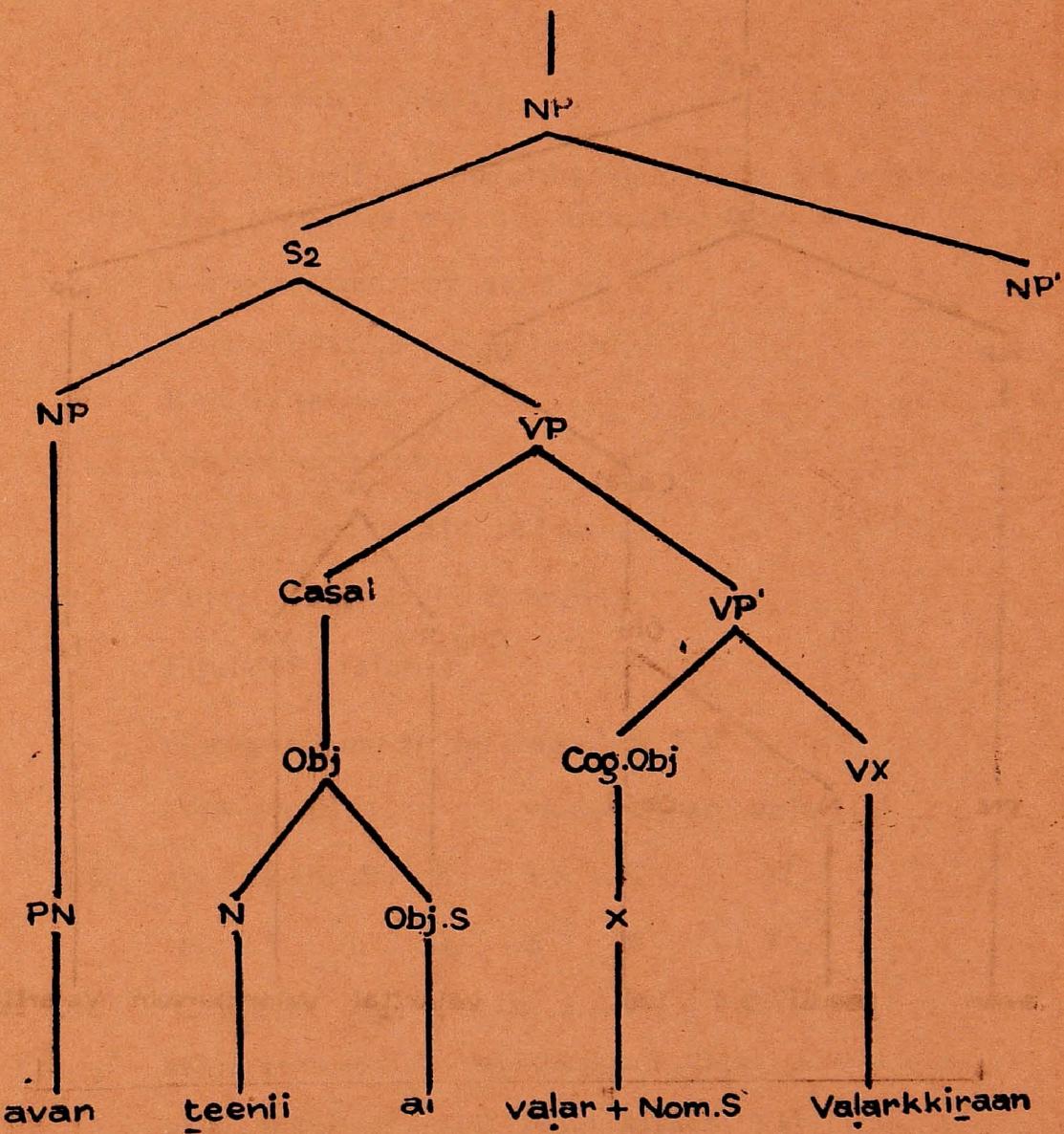
Stage 2) The deep structure of S_2 is expanded as follows



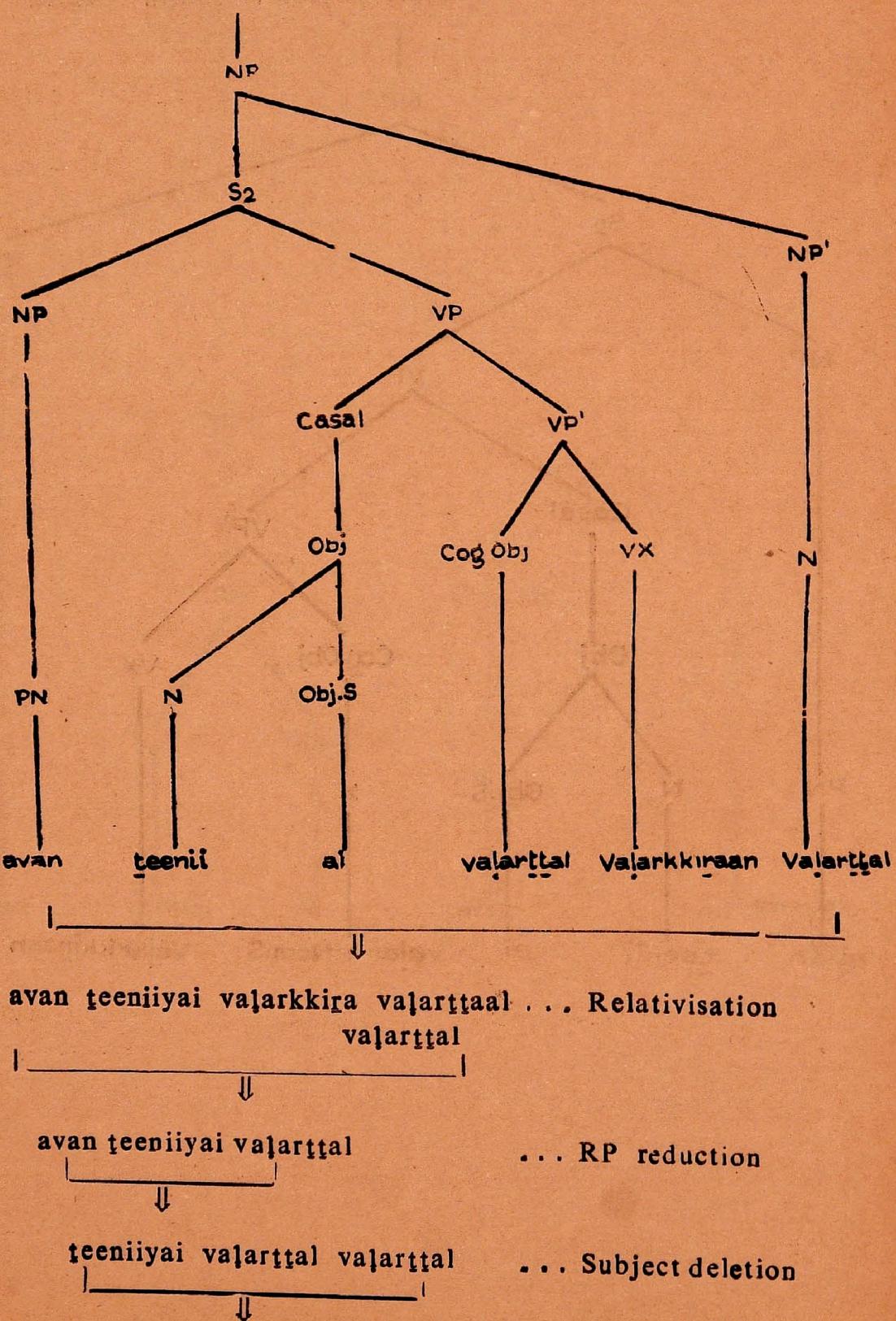
3) The realisation of cognate object is shown below.



4) The nominalisation of cognate object is shown below.



5) The derivation of the compound is further explained below.



teenii vaʃarṭṭal vaʃarṭṭal ... Obj.case deletion
 ↓

teenii vaʃarṭṭal ... Equi-NP deletion

The following transformational rules are applied (a few rules and processes are not indicated above)

1. X-replacement by copying VX
2. Nominalisation of Verb root
3. Relativisation
4. Subject deletion
5. Relative participle reduction
6. Object case suffix deletion
7. Equi-NP deletion

1. **X-replacement by copying VX**

avan teeniiyai X vaʃarkkiraan vaʃarṭṭal

SD : N- N-Obj.S- X Vb + T- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC : 1 7 = = = ⇒ 1 2 3 4 5 5 6 7

avan teeniiyai X vaʃarkkiraan vaʃarṭṭal = = = ⇒

avan teeniiyai vaʃar vaʃarkkiraan vaʃarṭṭal

(1 6 = constituent sentence; 7 = NP of matrix sentence)

2. **Nominalisation of the Verb-root**

avan teeniiyai vaʃar- vaʃarkkiraan vaʃarṭṭal

SD : N- N-Obj.S- Vbr- Vb- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC : 1 = = = ⇒ 1 2 3 4 + Nom.S 5 6

avan teeniiyai vałar vałarkkiąan vałarttal \Rightarrow
 avan teeniiyai vałarttal vałarkkiąan vałarttal
 (Nom.S = Nominalisation suffix. valar+Nom.S \Rightarrow
 vałarttal morphonemically)

3. *Relativisation*

avan teeniiyai vałarttal vałarkkiąan vałarttal

SD: N- N-obj. S- N- Vb- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 6 \Rightarrow 1 2 3 4 5 + RP (where 4 = 6)

avan teeniiyai vałarttal vałarkkiąan vałarttal \Rightarrow
 avan teeniiyai vałarttaal vałarkkiąa vałarttal

4. *Subject deletion*

avan teeniiyai vałarttal vałarkkiąa vałarttal

SD: N- N-obj.S- N- Vb+RP- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1 7 \Rightarrow 2 3 4 5 6 7 (where 4 = 7)

avan teeniiyai vałarttal vałarkkiąa vałarttal \Rightarrow
 teeniiyai vałarttal vałarkkiąa vałarttal

5. *Relative participle reduction*

teeniiyai vałarttal vałarkkiąa vałarttal

SD: N-obj.S- N- Vb+RP- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 6 \Rightarrow 1 2 3 6 (where 3 = 6)

teeniiyai vaļarttal vaļarkkiņa vaļarttal ==>
teeniiyai vaļarttal vaļarttal

6. Objective case suffix deletion

teeniiyai vaļarttal vaļarttal

SD: N-obj.S- N- N
1 2 3 4

SC: 1.....4 ==> 1 3 4 (where 3=4)

teeniiyai vaļarttal vaļarttal ==>
teenii vaļarttal

7. Equi-NP deletion

teenii vaļarttal vaļarttal

SD: N- N- N
1 2 3

SC: 1.....3 ==> 1 3

teenii vaļarttal vaļarttal ==>
teenii vaļarttal

2.3.3 Instrumental + Cognate Object

1. arivaal veļtu "sickle cut"
2. alaku-p-puuļtu "pin lock"
lit. "closing with a pin"
3. kalleki "stone throw"
4. kapviiccu "eye cast / sweep"
5. uļal uļaippu "physical labour"

6. caaṭṭai-ati. "whip lashing"
 7. katti-k-kutṭu "knife-stab"

The above compounds show the relationship of "Instrument + cognate object". The first member of the compound is the instrument with which an action is done. The action is denoted by the second constituent which is the nominalised form of the source verb. As such it is treated, as explained already, as the cognate object. This cognate object form is realised by copying the source Verb root. The compound is, sometimes, identified with the expression kallai erintaan "(someone) threw a stone". Here it is used as an object. One can have a nominal expression like kallaal eri (-viḷuntatū) "throw with stone" but not the expression kallai eri. Hence it is treated here as really an instrumental rather than an object. The deep structure posited for the above type of compound is as follows

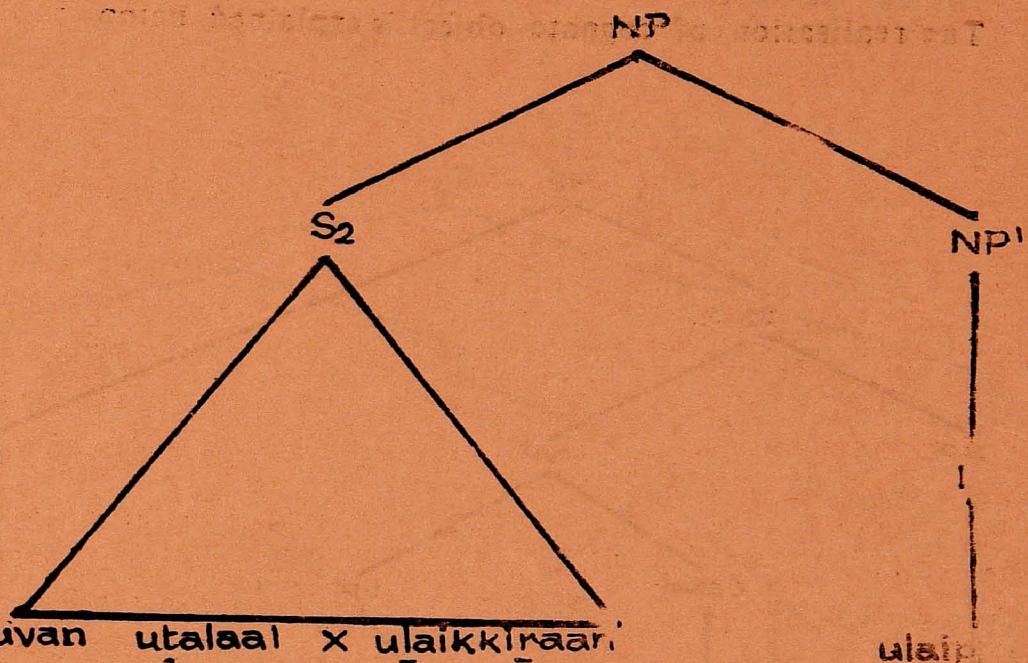
N(Subject) + N(Instrumental) + X + VX
 (X=cognate object; VX=cognate object verb)

The compound 5 uṭal uṭaippu is taken up here for demonstrating the derivational process. The source sentence for this compound is

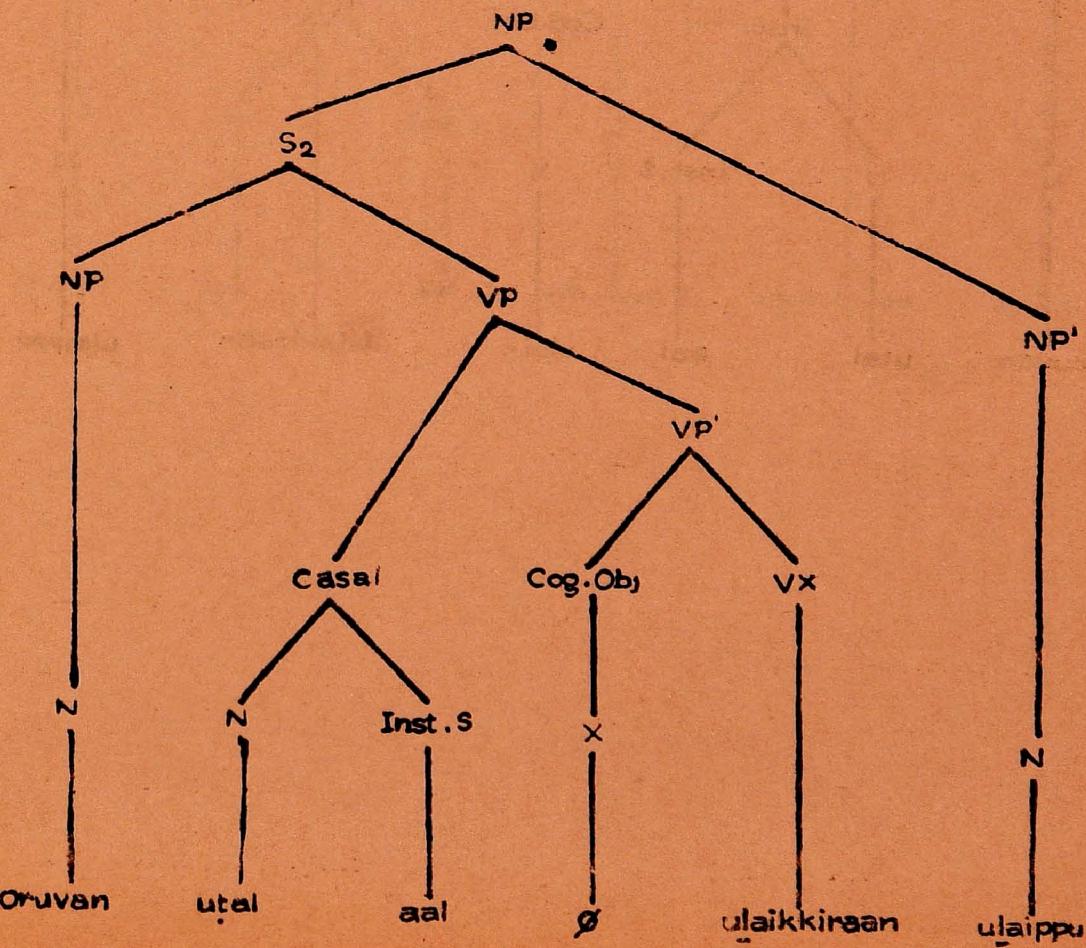
5a, uṭalaal X uṭaikkiraan

Lit. "Someone is working with (his) body"

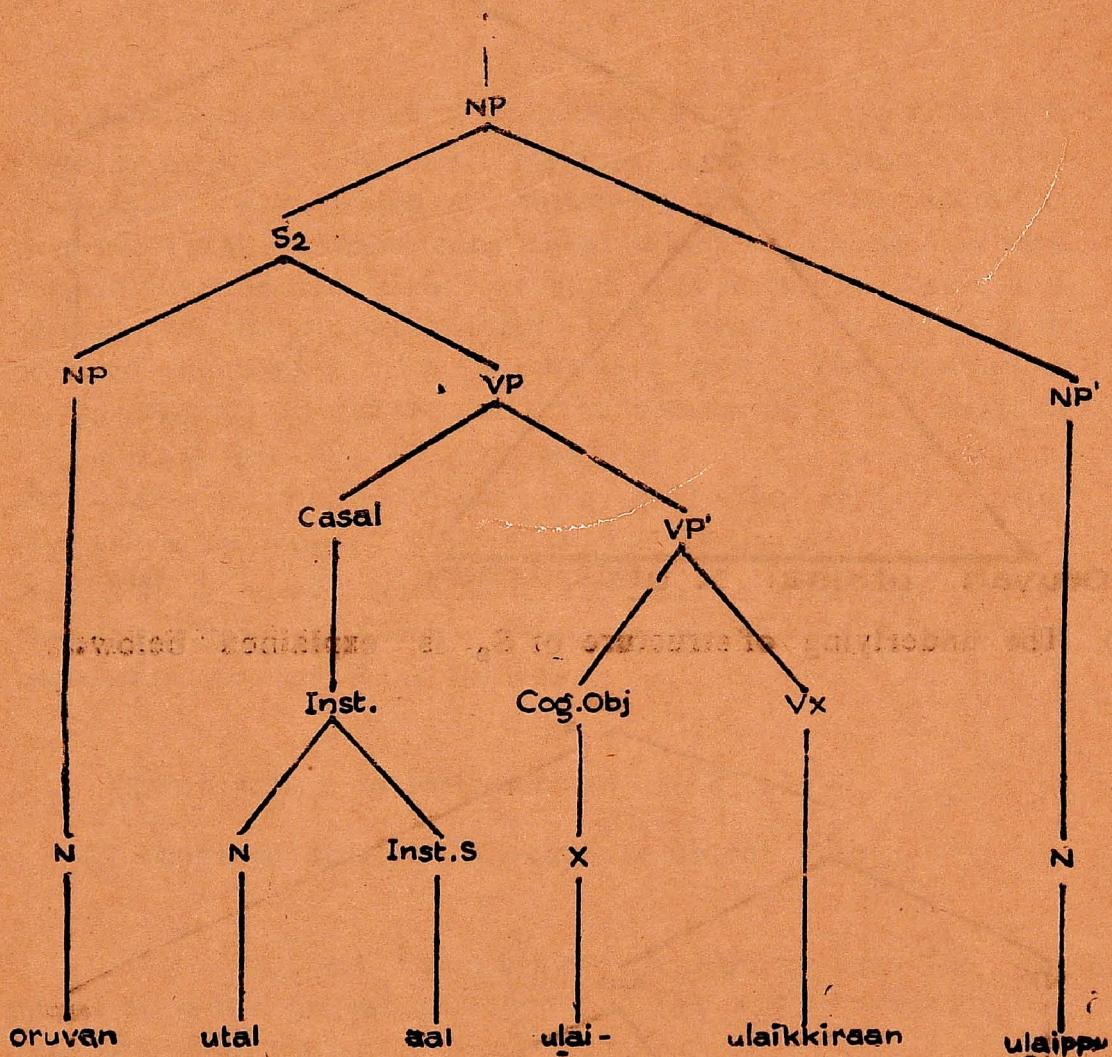
The underlying structure and the process of derivation are explained below diagrammatically.



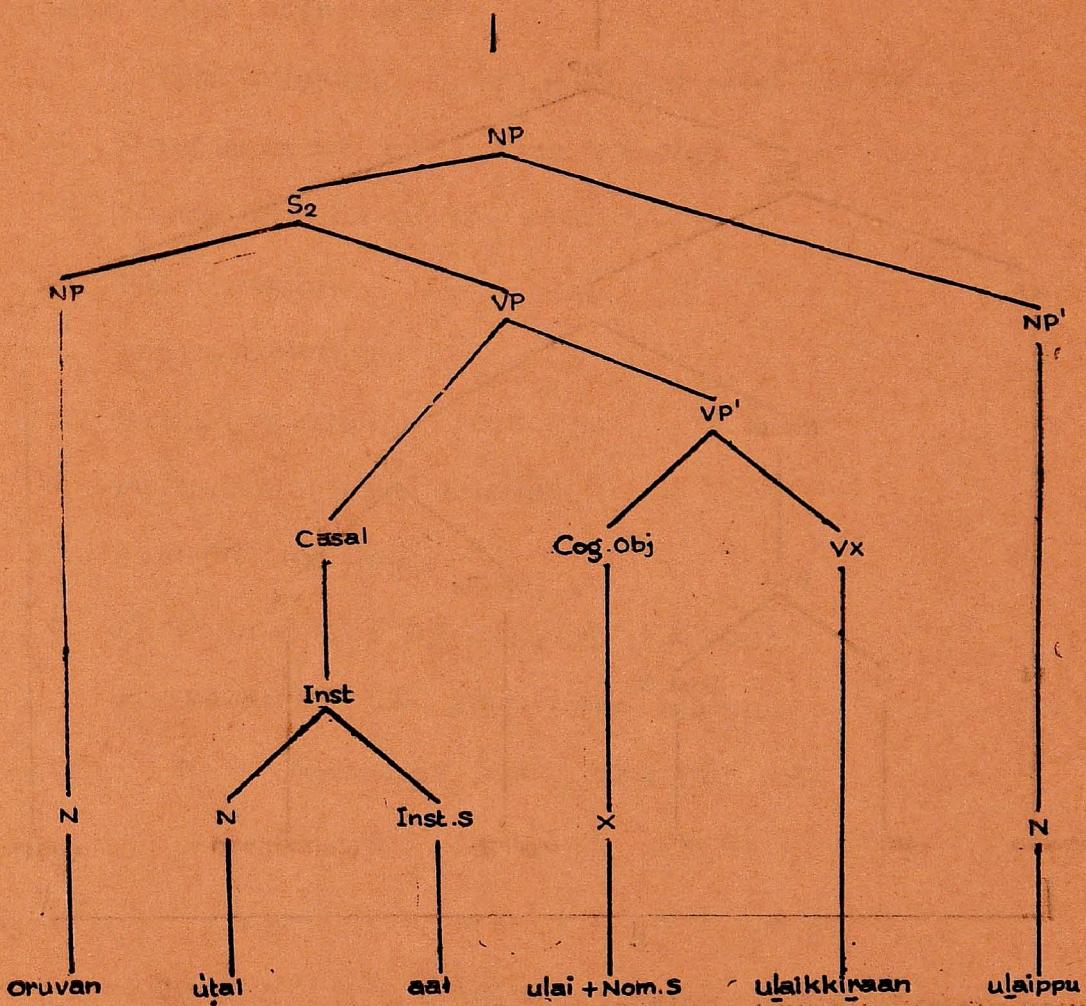
1) The underlying structure of S₂ is explained below.



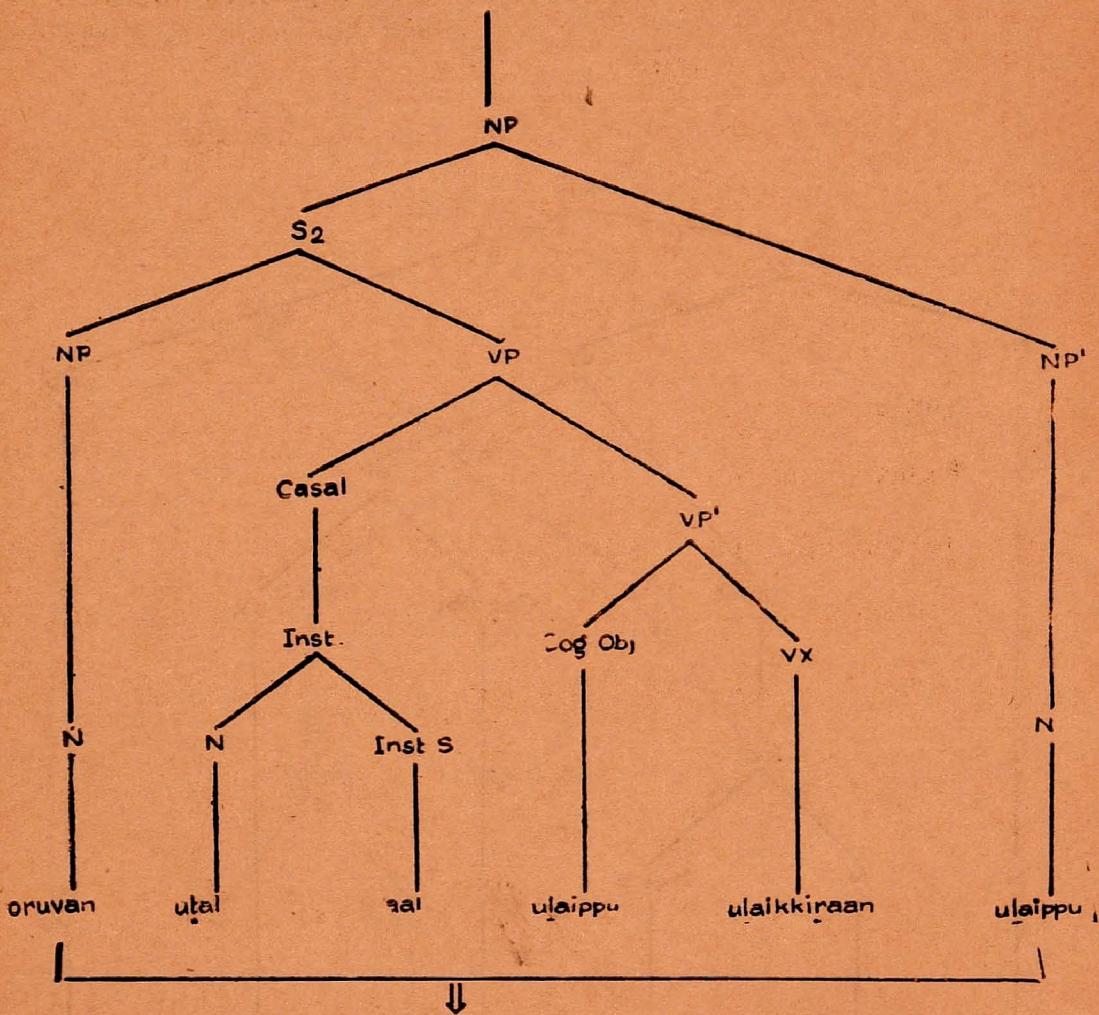
2) The realisation of cognate object is explained below.



3) The nominalisation of cognate object is explained below.



4) The derivation of the compound is explained below.



oruvan uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaikkira uṭaippu . . Relativisation

uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaikkira uṭaippu . . Subject deletion

uṭaippu uṭalaal uṭaippu . . Relative part. reduction

uṭaippu uṭal uṭaippu . . Inst. suffix deletion

uṭal uṭaippu . . Equi-NP deletion

(The transformational rules applied in the initial level are not given here for want of space; but they could be seen below in full detail.)

The following transformational rules are applied.

1. X-replacement by copying VX root
2. Nominalisation of the verb root
3. Relativisation
4. Subject deletion
5. Relative participle reduction
6. Instrumental case deletion
7. Equi-NP deletion

1. X-replacement by copying VX root.

oruvan uṭalaal X uṭaikkiraan uṭaippu

SD: N- N-Inst.S- X- Vb+T- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1.....7 == == ==> 1 2 3 4 5 5 6 7

oruvan uṭalaal X uṭaikkiraan uṭapiju == == ==>

oruvan uṭalaal uṭai- uṭaikkiraan uṭaippu

(1.....6 = constituent sentence; 7 = NP of the matrix sentence; X is replaced by copying the verb root VX)

2. Nominalisation of the verb root.

oruvan uṭalaal uṭai- uṭaikkiraan uṭaiju

SD: N- N-Inst.S- Vbr- Vb- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1.....6 == == ==> 1 2 3 4 + Nom.S 5 6

oruvan uṭalaal uṭai- uṭaikkiraan uṭaippu ==⇒

oruvan uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaikkiraan uṭaippu

(Vbr = Verb root; Nominalising suffix; ulai + Nom.S ==⇒

ulaippu morphophonemically)

3. *Relativisation*

oruvan uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaikkiraan uṭaippu

SD: N- N-Inst-S- N- Vb- N
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1.....6 ==⇒ 1 2 3 4 5 + RP 6 (where 4 = 6)

oruvan uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaikkiraan uṭaippu ==⇒

oruvan uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaikkira uṭaippu

4. *Subject deletion*

oruvan uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaikkira uṭaippu

SD: N- N-Inst.S- N- Vb+RP- N
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1.....7 ==⇒ 2 3 4 5 6 7 (where 4 = 7)

oruvan uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaikkira uṭaippu ==⇒

uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaikkira uṭaippu

5. *Relative participle reduction*

uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaikkira uṭaippu

SD: N-Inst.S- N- Vb+RP- N
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1.....6 ==⇒ 1 2 3 6 (where 3 = 6)

uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaikkira uṭaippu = = = = ⇒

uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaippu

6. *Instrumental case suffix deletion*

uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaippu

SD: N-Inst.S- N- N

1 2 3 4

SC: 1 4 = = = ⇒ 1 3 4 (where 3 = 4)

uṭalaal uṭaippu uṭaippu = = = ⇒

uṭal uṭaippu uṭaippu

7. *Equi-NP deletion*

uṭal uṭaippu uṭaippu

SD: N- N- N

1 2 3

SC: 1 3 = = = ⇒ 1 3

uṭal uṭaippu uṭaippu = = = ⇒

uṭal uṭaippu

The following compounds undergo morphophonemic changes as shown below:

alaku + puuṭtu → → → alaku-p-puṭtu

kal + eṛi → → → kal-l-eṛi

caaṭṭai + aṭi → → → caaṭṭai-y-aṭi

kaṭṭi + kuṭṭu → → → kaṭṭi-k-kuṭṭu

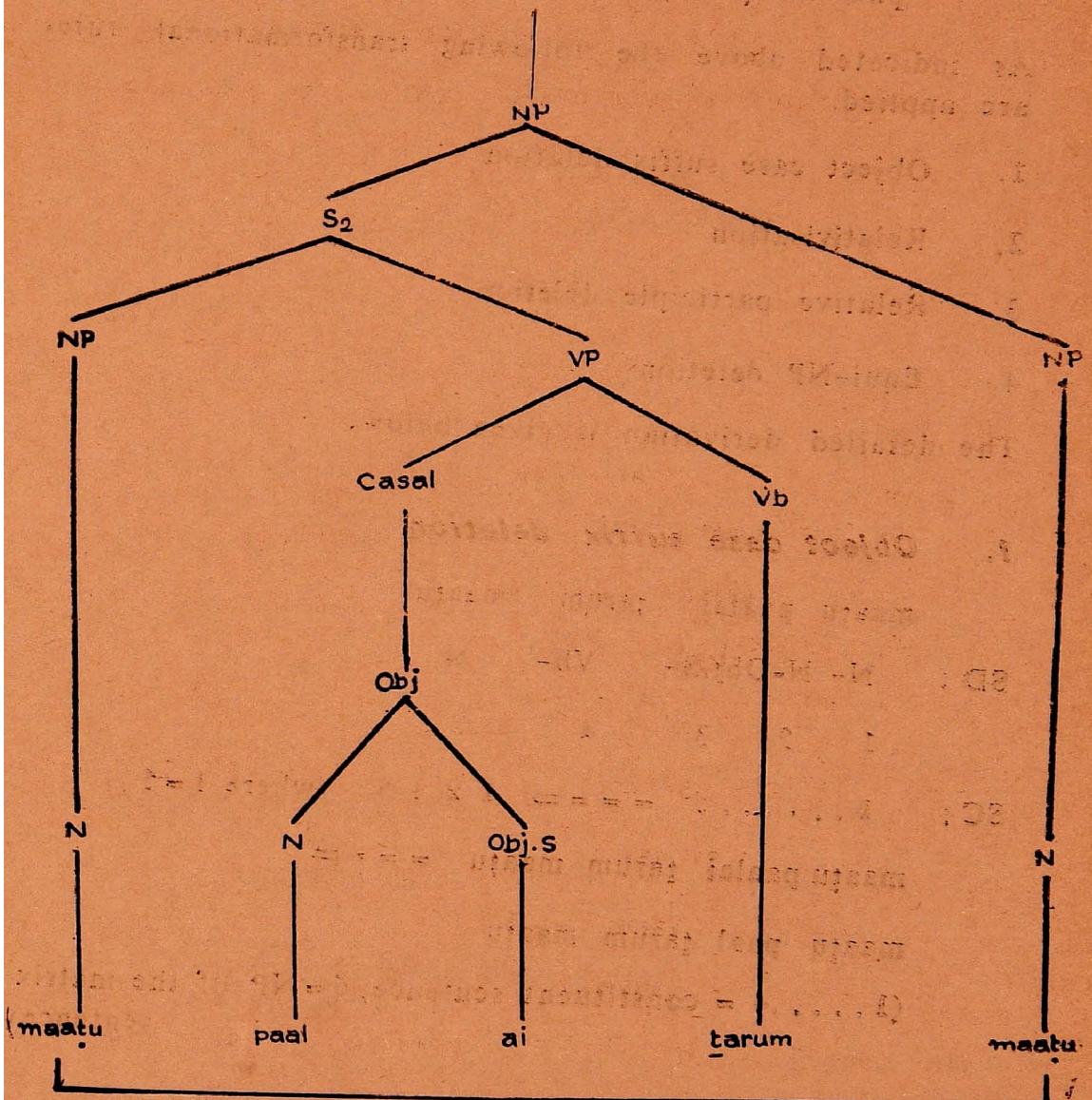
2.4. Compounds in which the second member is Subject.

2.4.1. Object + Subject

Compound nouns which involve “Object + Subject” relationship are given below. These could be subdivided into several types based on the proper source verbs. It is also possible to subdivide them on the basis of syntactic relations. See discussion below.

A	1. punuku-p-puunai	“punuku cat”
	2. paal maaṭu	“miik-cow”
	3. tuukka mattirai	“sleeping tablets”
	4. aaruṭal kaṭitam	“consolation letter”
B	1. malai-k-kuri	“rain sign”
	2. ellai-k-kooṭu	“blundary line”
C	1. aaṭṭiṭaiyan	“shephered” (lit. goat-shepherd)
	2. paṭa viyaapaari	“fruit merchant”

This classification has to be made because sets A, B and C have different verbs in the source sentences. Set A will have either something like ‘tarum’ or ‘kōṭukkum’ “will give” as the source verb. Set B will have ‘kaaṭṭum’ “will show” and C1 will have ‘meeykkiraan’ or ‘meeykkum’ “will graze” (The latter aorist form is preferable) whilst C2. will have ‘virkkiraan’ or ‘virkkum’ “will sell”. These source verbs are assigned according to the features of the subject word. As already stated a distinction on the basis of syntactic relations is also possible. For example B₁ and B₂ could be expanded as B.1.a. malayin kuri “The sign of rain” and B.2.a. ellaiyin kooṭu respectively but not set A like punukin puunai. There may be some more subsets like this coming under this pattern. But all of them will finally come under “Object + Subject” relationship. Since this will involve further larger analysis it is not attempted here and only a limited number of subtypes are given and discussed. For all these sets a common grammatical deep structure viz., Noun(Subject) + Noun (Object) + Verb could be posited. The derivational processes of these sets of compounds will be expanded below with an illustration from set A viz., paal maaṭu. The source sentence for this will be maaṭu paalai tarum “The cow will give milk”. The derivation is explained below.



maa^{tu} paal tarum maa^{tu} after obj.case suffix deletion

maa^{tu} paal tarum maa^{tu} ... , Relativisation

maa^{tu} paal maa^{tu} ... , Re.part.deletion

paal maaṭu

... , Equi-NP deletion

As indicated above the following transformational rules are applied.

1. Object case suffix deletion

2. Relativisation

3. Relative participle deletion

4. Equi-NP deletion

The detailed derivation is given below.

1. Object case suffix deletion

maaṭu paalai ḫarum maaṭu

SD : N- N-Obj.S- Vb- N

1 2 3 4 5

SC : 1 5 ==> 1 2 4 5 (where 1 = 5)

maaṭu paalai ḫarum maaṭu ==>

maaṭu paal ḫarum maaṭu

(1 4 = constituent sentence; 5 = NP of the matrix sentence)

2. Relativisation

maaṭu paal ḫarum maaṭu

SD : N- N- Vb- N

1 2 3 4

SC : 1 4 ==> 1 2 3 + RP 4 (where 1 = 4)

maaṭu paal ḫarum maaṭu ==>

maaṭu paal ḫarum maaṭu

3. Relative participle deletion

maaṭu paal ṭarum maaṭu

SD: N- N- Vb- N
1 2 3 4

SC: 1.....4 ==> 1 2 4 (where 1=4)

maaṭu paal maaṭu ==>

maaṭu paal maaṭu

4. Equi-NP deletion

maaṭu paal maaṭu

SD: N- N- N
1 2 3

SC: 1.....3 ==> 2 3

maaṭu paal maaṭu ==>

paal maaṭu

2.4.2. Sociative + Subject

The following compounds have the grammatical relationship viz. “Sociative + Subject”.

1. naaṭu-p-parru “(Love towards the country)”
“patriotism”
2. kalai -p-parru “love towards arts”
3. viiṭu-p-parru “desire towards mokṣa or release”
4. ṭar kaaṭal “love towards one self”
5. maaṭi viiṭu “the house with the upstairs”

While tracing the source sentence one can assign two possible structures. Consider the following

- 1.a. **parru** **naatoo**tu **uñtu** "There is love / attachment towards the country"
- 2.a. **parru** **kalaiyoo**tu **uñtu** "There is love towards the arts"
- 3.a. **parru** **viiñoo**tu **uñtu** "There is attachment towards moksha or release"
- 4.a. **kaatal** **tannoo**tu **uñtu** "There is love towards oneself"

These are found to be with sociative casal relation. The second type of sentences are as follows:

- 1.b. **parru** **naatil** **uñtu** "There is love / attachment in the country"
- 2.b. **parru** **kalaiyil** **uñtu** "There is love in the arts"
- 3.b. **parru** **viiñil** **uñtu** "There is attachment in the release"
- 4.b. **parru** **tannil** / **tanniñat**tu **uñtu** "There is love in oneself"

4.b. may not be agreeable to some). In sentences 1.b. to 4.d. We find the sociative case marker oo^{tu} is substituted by the locative marker-il. Thus they seem to be semantically identical. But this is superficial and is only a surface level realisation.

This could be demonstrated with the following examples

A. **miin** **aarril** **uñtu** "there is fish in the river"

B. **parru** **naatil** **uñtu** "there is attachment in the country"

Applying the transformational rule of relativisation one can get

A.1. miin ulla **aaru** "The river where the fish is". But the same rule will produce B.1. parru ulla **naatu**. The country which has love" which is ungrammatical and unacceptable. This proves that though 1.a. to 4.a. and 1.b to 4.b look semantically identical They are really superficial surface level realisations. Really in the deeper level we can have only

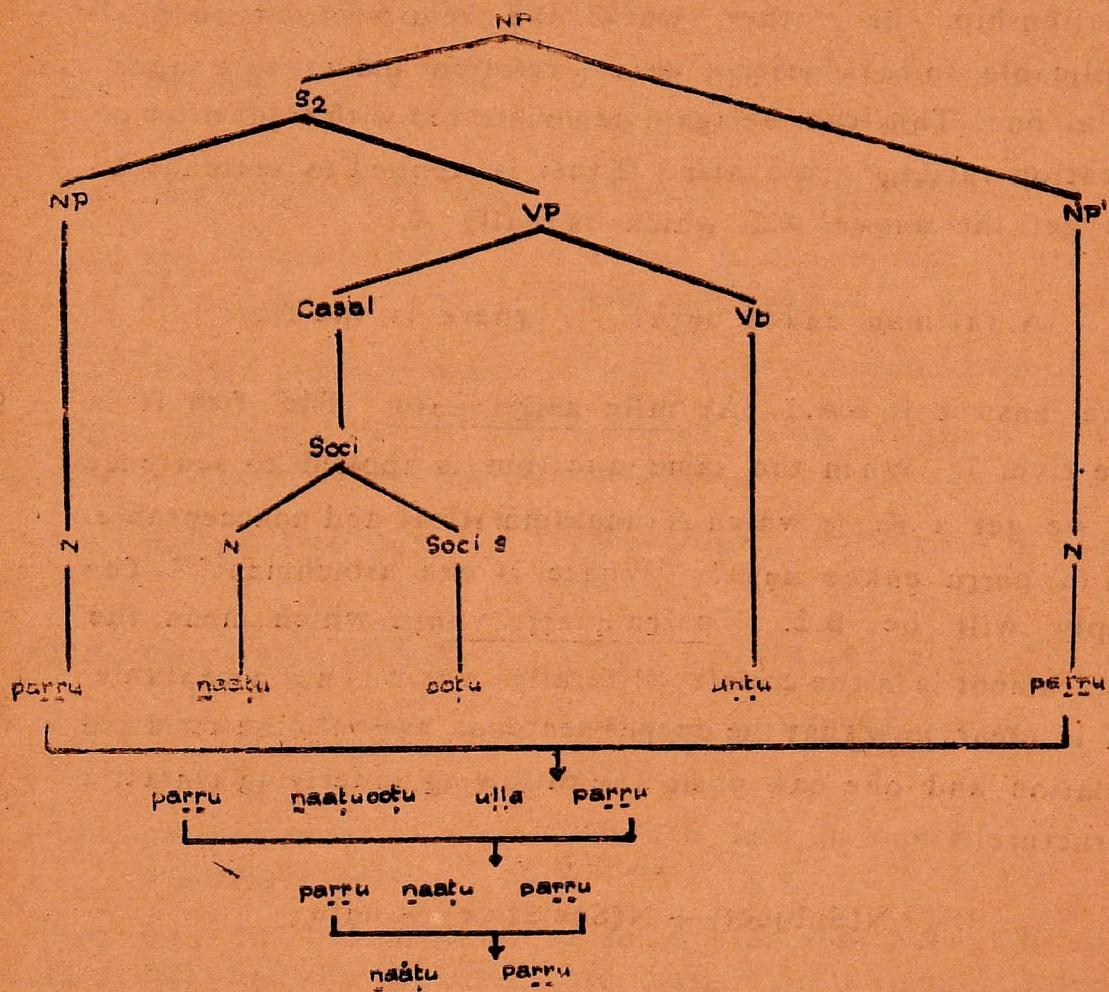
the sociative case relation rather than the locative relationship. In other works the relativisation rule is applicable to real locative case relation and not to a superficial one. This can be again demonstrated with "question of location raising" rule also. If this is applied to sentence A we get the answer A.2 which is really A.

A. (a) miin eñkee uñtu? "where is the fish?"

The answer is = A.2. (A) miin aarril uñtu "The fish is in the river". When the same question is applied to sentence B. we get a reply which is ungrammatical and unacceptable. B. (a) parru eñkee uñtu? "Where is the attachment?" The reply will be B.2. "parru naat̪il uñtu which mean the attachment is in the country (literally) which is not acceptable. It is clear now that the deeper sentence has only the sociative relation and one can posit the following underlying syntactic structure:

N(Subject) + N(Sociative) + uñtu

Accordingly the derivation of compound naat̪u-p-parru is demonstrated below with tree diagram etc. The following tree diagram explain the underlying phrase marker and the NP of the matrix sentence.



Transformational rules required to derive the compounds are as follows.

1. Relativisation
2. Relative participle reduction
3. Sociative case deletion
4. Equi-NP deletion

The detailed derivation is given below.

1. Relativisation

parru ɳaaṭu ooṭu uṇṭu parru

SD: N- N- Soc.S- Vb- N

1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1 . . . 5 \Rightarrow 1 2 3 4 + RP 5 (where 1 = 5)

parru ɳaaṭu ooṭu uṇṭu parru \Rightarrow

parru ɳaaṭu ooṭu uṇṭu parru

(1 4 = Constituent sentence; 5 = NP of the matrix sentence)

2. Relative participle reduction

parru ɳaaṭu ooṭu uṇṭa parru

SD: N- N- Soc.S- Vb+RP N

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 6 \Rightarrow 1 2 3 6 (where 1-6)

parru ɳaaṭu ooṭu uṇṭa parru \Rightarrow

parru ɳaaṭu ooṭu parru

3. Sociative Case suffix deletion

parru ɳaaṭu ooṭu parru

SD: N- N- Soc.S- N

1 2 3 4

SC: 1.....4 \Rightarrow 1 2 4 (where 1 = 4)

parru ɳaaṭu ooṭu parru \Rightarrow

parru ɳaaṭu parru

4. *Equi-NP deletion*

parru ɳaaṭu parru

SD: N- N- N
1 2 3

SC: 1.....3 = = = = ⇒ 2 3

parru ɳaaṭu parru = = = ⇒

ɳaaṭu parru

ɳaaṭu + parru = = = ⇒ ɳaaṭṭu-p-parru morphophonemically

Similarly the following also will undergo morphophonemic changes.

kalai + parru = = = ⇒ kalai-p-parru

viiṭu + parru = = = ⇒ viiṭṭu-p-parru

ṭan + kaaṭal = = = ⇒ ṭarkaaṭal

2.4.3 *Dative + Subject*

Before discussing the compounds which have 'Dative + Subject' relationship we may deal with briefly the constructions where the dative case suffix-ku is used. An attempt is being made here to point out the complexities involved in dealing with surface constructions which have this suffix. Various underlying relations are expressed with the dative suffix in the surface level. However it should be pointed out here that no detailed analysis has been made regarding this.

1. ɳaan uurukku-p-pookigeen

"I am going to the village"

Here-ku represents the relation "directional"

2. **naan avarukku-p-paṇṭai-k-koṭuppien**

"I gave him money"

Here an "Object" is also involved.

3. **aṭarku iṭu periyaṭu** "This is bigger than that"

The concept of "comparison" is involved here.

4. **ivan en aṭṭaikku makan** "He is my aunt's son"

In this case "genitive"

5. **inkee vaṭṭakaikku viṭu kiṭaiakkum**

"Here a house is available for rent"

6. **iṭai unakku vaankineen** "I bought this for you"

7. **yaanai-k-ku-ṭ-ṭaṇṭam uṇṭu** "The elephant has tusks"

Here a "possessive" relationship is involved".

8. **iṭai avarukkaaka vaankineen**

"I bought this on behalf of him"

9. **kaṭṭi paṭam veṭṭuvaṭarku**

"There is the knife to cut fruits".

The relationship involved here is "purposive"

Here compounds which have "dative+subject" relationship in the deeper level alone are dealt with. Superficially they seem to possess the genitive-possessive relationship. For example teeṭ koṭukku "The sting of the scorpion" can be traced to the following possible source sentences.

1. teełukku-k-kołukku uŋtu

“There is sting for the scorpion”

2. teeł kołukkai ułaiyału

“The scorpion is that which has the sting”

3. iłu teełinułaiya kołukku aakum

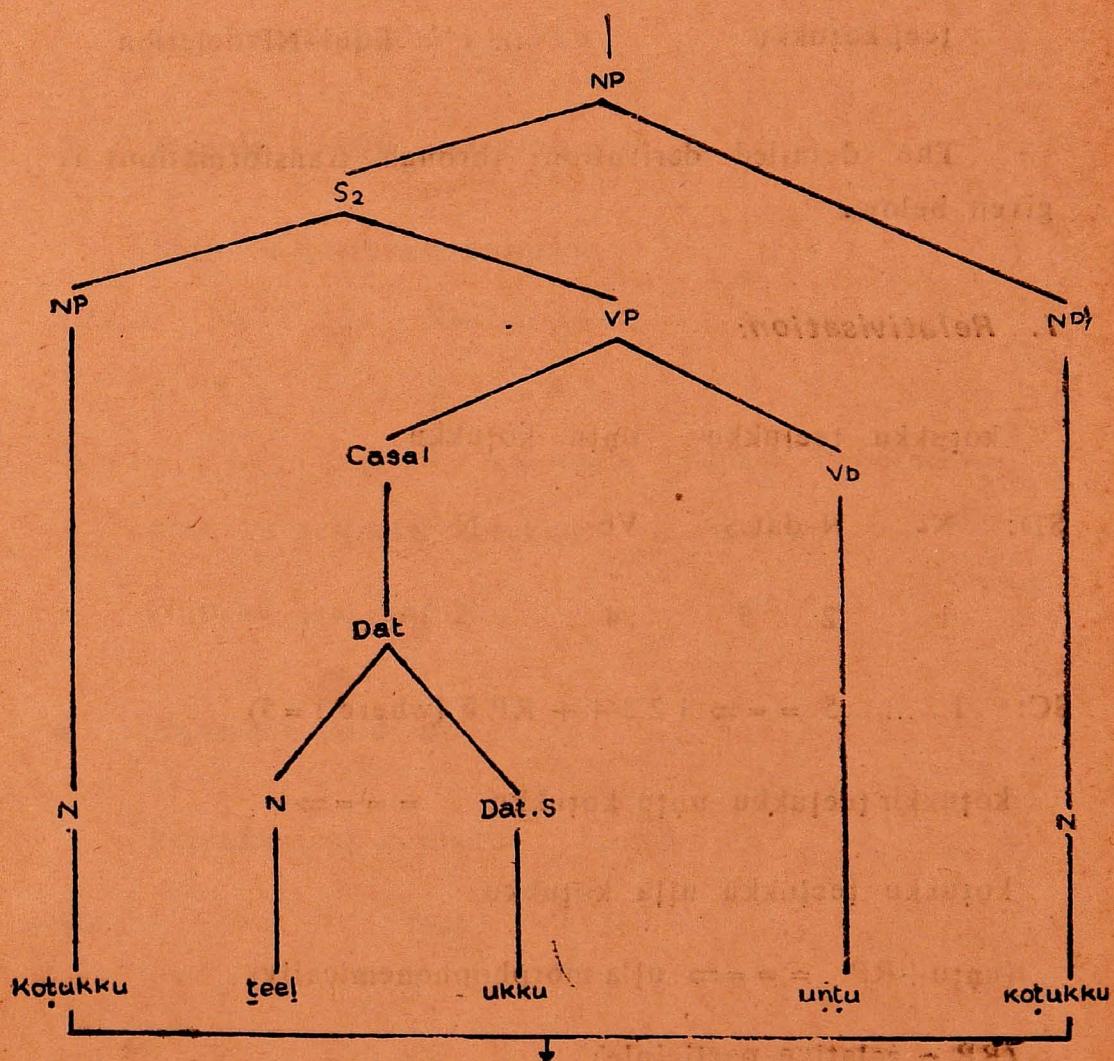
“This is scorpion's sting”

Sentence 1 contains the dative suffix -ku whereas (3) contains the genitive—possessive -in utaiya. In (2) we find the relationship of subject + object with reference to teeł kołukku. Thus the compound becomes ambiguous. As it will be shown below that this ambiguity is only superficial and the deep structure should be treated as containing the dative. Sentence (1) can be relativised into teełukku ułla kołukku whereas (2) cannot be subjected to relativisation. The realisation *teeł ułla kołukku is ungrammatical and unacceptable. Similarly sentence (3) also cannot be relativised like (2). Really speaking the sentence (3) is only an intermediary stage in the process of derivation. In this way a deeper analysis of the construction reveals the real syntactic relationship found between the constituents of the compound and thus the superficial ambiguity is also resolved. Accordingly we will treat the compound teeł kołukku as showing really the “dative + subject” relation and posit the deep syntactic structure as N(Subject) + N(dative) + Verb. The following compounds have such relation.

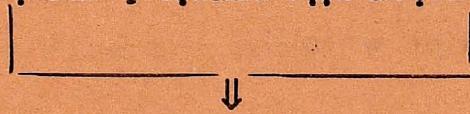
A. <u>teeł kołukku</u>	“scorpion”
B. <u>puli-p-pal</u>	“the tooth of the tiger”
C. <u>yaanai-k-kompu</u>	“the tusk of the elephant”
D. <u>mułłai-y-oołu</u>	“egg-shell”

E. veñkaaya-t-t̄ool "onion-skin"
 F. teer-c-cakkaram "chariot wheel"

The derivation of these compounds is demonstrated below with the example teeł kotukku. Accordingly the underlying phrase marker for the source sentence (i) is explained below in the form of a tree diagram. The NP of the matrix sentence is also marked.



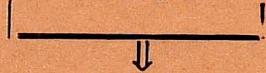
koṭukku ṭeeṭukku uṭṭa koṭukku . . . after relativisation



koṭukku ṭeeṭukku koṭukku . . . " rel.part. deletion



koṭukku ṭeeṭ koṭukku . . . " dat.suffix deletion.



ṭeeṭ koṭukku . . . " Equi-NP deletion

The detailed derivation through transformations is given below.

1. *Relativisation:*

koṭukku ṭeeṭukku uṭṭu koṭukku

SD: N- N-dat.S- Vb- N

1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1.....5 ==> 1 2 3 4 + RP 5 (where 1 = 5)

koṭukku ṭeeṭukku uṭṭu koṭukku ==>

koṭukku ṭeeṭukku uṭṭa koṭukku

(uṭṭu + RP ==> uṭṭa morphophonemically)

(RP = relative participle)

(1.....4 = Constituent sentence; 5 = NP of the matrix sentence)

2. Relative participle reduction

koṭukku ṭeeṭukku uṭṭa koṭukku

SD:	N—	N—dat.S—	Vb+RP—	N
	1	2 3	4 5	6
SC:	1	6 = = = = >	1 2 3 6	(where 1 = 6)

koṭukku ṭeeṭukku uṭṭa koṭukku

koṭukku ṭeeṭukku koṭukku

3. Dative suffix deletion

koṭukku ṭeeṭukku koṭukku

SD:	N—	N—Dat.S—	N
	1	2 3	4
SC:	1	4 = = = = >	1 2 4 (where 1 = 4)
	koṭukku ṭeṭukku	kotukku	= = = = >
	koṭukku ṭeeṭ	koṭukku	

4. Equi-Np deletion

koṭukku ṭeeṭ koṭukku

SD:	N—	N—	N
	1	2	3
SC:	1	3 = = = = >	2 3
	koṭukku ṭeeṭ	koṭukku	= = = = >
	teeṭ	koṭukku	

Some compoudds of this type will be derived after applying the proper morphophonemic rules.

Eg:	yaannai + kompu	----->	yaannai-k-kombu
	puli + pał	----->	puli-p-pal
	muṭṭai + ooṭu	----->	muṭṭai-y-ooṭu
	venkaayam + tool	----->	venkaaya-t-tool
	teer +cakkaram	----->	teer-c-cakkaram

2.4.4. Ablative + Subject:

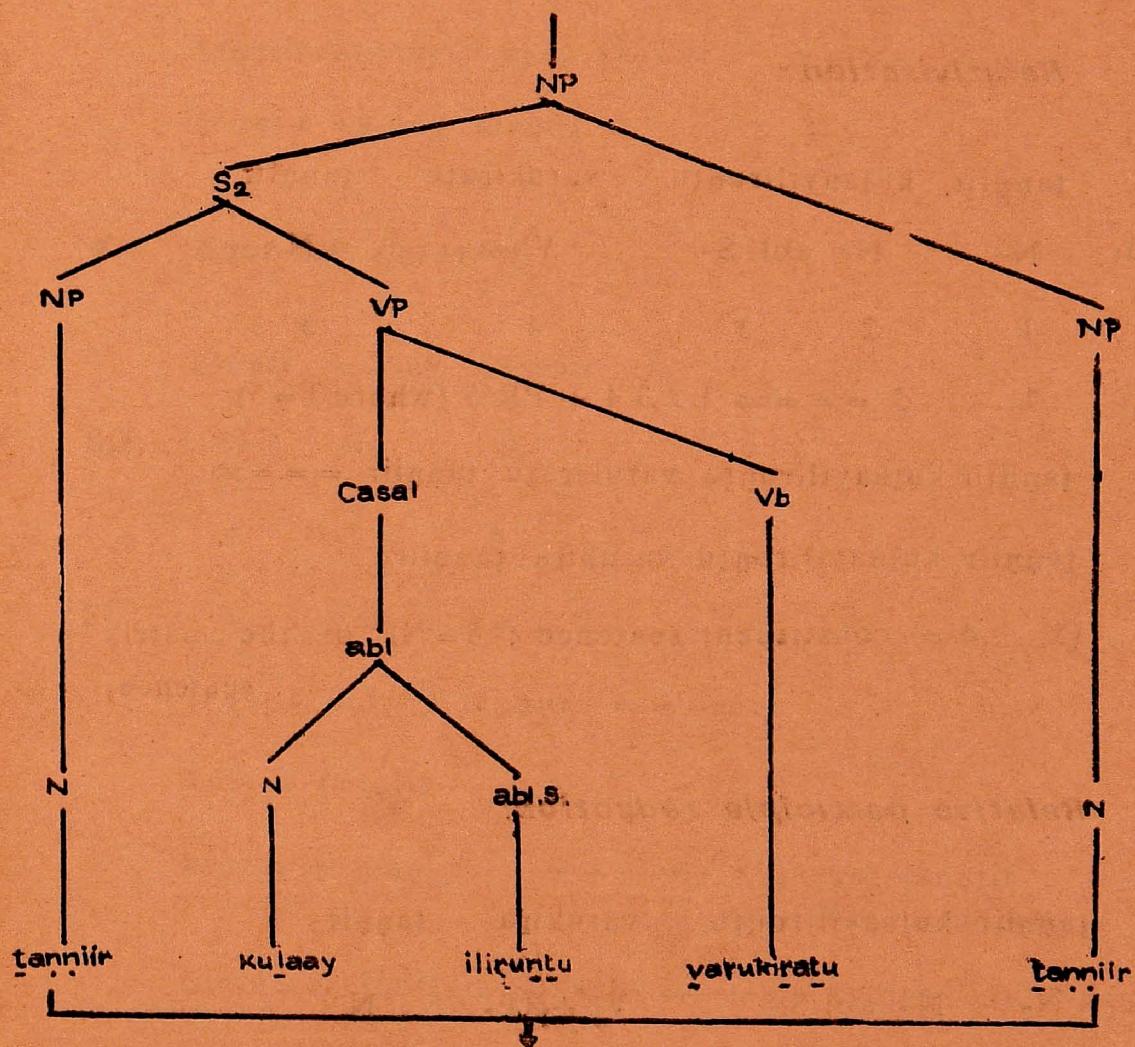
1. kuḷaay-t-ṭaṇṇiir "tap water" (lit. "water from the tap")
2. vaan małai "rains" (lit. rains from the sky)
3. tooṭṭa (ṭṭu)-k-kaay "vegetable" (lit. vegetable from the garden)

The above compounds have "ablative + subject" relationship among the constituents. The following source sentences could be posited for the above compounds.

- 1.a. ṭaṇṇiir kuḷaayiliruṇṭu varukīṛaṭu
"The water is coming from the tap"
- 2.a. małai vaaniliruṇṭu varukīṛaṭu
"The rain comes from the sky"
- 3.a. kaay tooṭṭat̄tiliruṇṭu varukīṛaṭu
"The vegetable comes from the garden"

Thus these can be traced to a deep structure viz.,
 N(Subject) + N (ablative) + Verb

As in other cases the derivation is explained with the following tree diagram explaining the underlying structure of the constituent sentence and the NP of the matrix sentence.



tanrıiir ku-laay iliruntu varukıra tanrıiir . . . after Relativisation

tanrıiir ku-laay iliruntu tanrıiir . . . " Rel. part. deletion

taññiir kuñaay taññiir after " abl.suffix
 | |
 ↓
 kuñaay taññiir . . . " Equi-NP
 deletion

The detailed explanation is given below.

1. Relativisation:

taññiir kuñaayiliruñtu varukiratú taññiir

SD: N- N- abl. S- Vb- N
 1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1.....5 ==> 1 2 3 4 + PR 5 (where 1=5)

taññiir kuñaayiliruñtu varukiratú taññiir ==>

taññiir kuñaayiliruñtu varukirá taññiir

(1.....4 = constituent sentence ; 5 = NP of the matrix
 sentence)

2. Relative participle reduction:

taññiir kuñaayiliruñtu varukirá taññiir

SD: N- N- abl.S- Vb+RP- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1.....6 ==> 1 2 3 6 (where 1=6)

taññiir kuñaayiliruñtu varukirá taññiir ==>

taññiir kuñaayiliruntu taññiir

3. *Ablative suffix deletion*

taŋŋiir kuлаayiliruŋtu taŋŋiir

SD: N- N- abl.S- N
1 2 3 4

SC: 1 4 = = = \Rightarrow 1 2 3 (where 1 = 4)

taŋŋiir kuлаayiliruŋtu taŋŋiir = = = \Rightarrow
taŋŋiir kuлаay taŋŋiir

4. *Equi-NP deletion*

taŋŋiir kuлаay taŋŋiir

SD: N- N- N
1 2 3

SC: 1 3 = = = \Rightarrow 2 3

taŋŋiir kuлаay taŋŋiir = = = \Rightarrow
kuлаay taŋŋiir

kuлаay + taŋŋiir \longrightarrow kuлаay-t-taŋŋiir
morphophonemically.

Similarly тооттам + kaay \longrightarrow тооттa (тту)k-kaay

2.4.5. *Locative + Subject*

One of the productive patterns of compounding possess a “locative + subject” relationship. Consider the following examples.

1. malai-y-aaṭu "mountain ram"
2. kaṭal miin "sea fish"
3. pakkaṭṭu viiṭu "next house"
4. kaaṭṭu yaanai "jungle elephant"

These compounds correspond to the following expressions :

- 1.a. malaiyil aaṭu "ram in the mountain"
- 2.a. kaṭalil miin "fish in the sea"
- 3.a. pakkaṭṭil viiṭu "the house nearby"
- 4.a. kaaṭṭil yaanai "the elephant in the jungle"

Thus the first constituents of the above compounds express the location where something is. The second constituent functions here as the subject. The following sentences can be taken as source sentences for 1 to 4 respectively.

- 1.b. aaṭu malaiyil irukkiraṭu "the ram is in the mountain"
- 2.b. miin kaṭalil irukkiraṭu "the fish is in the sea"
- 3.b. viiṭu pakkaṭṭil irukkiraṭu "the house is nearby"
- 4.b. yaanai kaaṭṭil irukkiraṭu "the elephant is in the jungle"

It is also possible to posit other verbs, like uṭ "to be" or vaal "to live" instead of iru. Accordingly we get

1.c. aaṭu malaiyil ullatu "the ram is in the mountain"
 2.c. miin kaṭalil ullatu "the fish is in the sea"
 3.c. viiṭu pakkatṭil ullatu "the house is in nearby"
 4.c. yaanai kaaṭṭil ullatu "the elepeant is in the jungle"

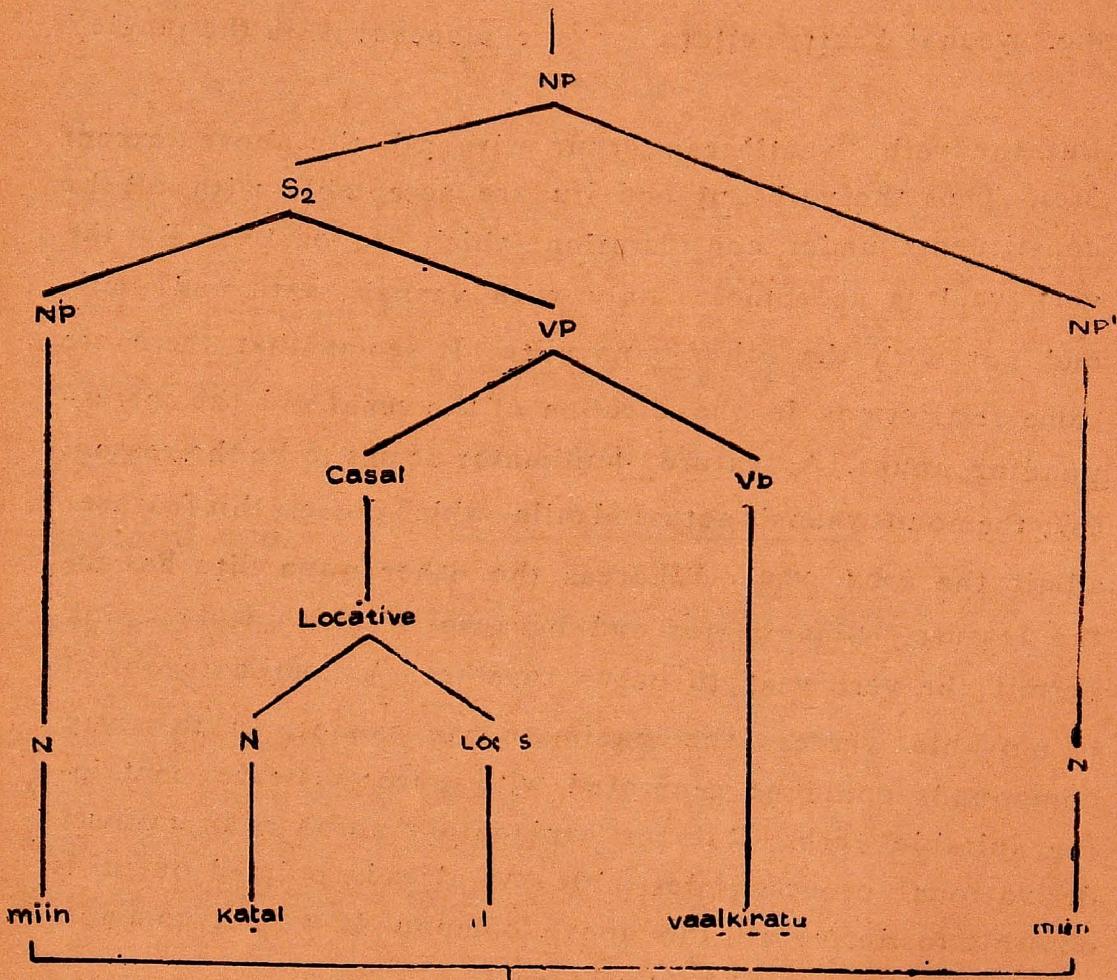
But the verb "vaal" can occur with all the above except 3(c). Thus the verbs uṭ and iru are acceptable with all the constituents under consideration which are locatives. But the verb vaal is acceptable only with yaanai, aaṭu and miin and not with the other noun viiṭu. It seems that there are some restrictions in the selection of the verbs and the corresponding nouns. A feature (+animate) seems to be the reason, for, the nouns yaanai, aaṭu and miin which possess this feature, admit the verb vaal. Whereas the other noun viiṭu has got the feature (+inanimate) and because of which it does not permit the verb vaal to occur together. An animate object is movable whereas the inanimate one cannot. In this way compounds could be generated with source sentences containing suitable verbs. But for explanatory purposes an uniform derivational process is desirable. As already pointed out it is possible to derive all the above compounds with a common or generalised verb like uṭ or iru.

The deep structure of the compound noun kaṭal miin, its surface structure realisation through the intermediary stages are all given below in the form of a tree diagram. The deep syntactic structure for all the sentences could be taken as

N(Subjeet) + N(Locative) + Verb

The source sentence for the compound **kaṭal miin** is

2.d. miin kaṭalil vaalkiratū.



miin kaṭalil vaalkiratū miin ... after Relativisation

miin kaṭalil miin ... , Rel.Part.deletion

miin Kaṭal miin ... , Loc.suffix.deletio

kaṭal miin ... , Equi-NP deletion

The detailed derivation is given below

1. *Relativisation*

miin katalil vaal kirartu miin

SD: N- N-Loc.S- Vb- N-

1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1 . . 5 = = = \Rightarrow 1 2 3 4 + RP 5 (where 1 = 5)

miin kaṭalil vaal kiṛaṭu miin = = = = \Rightarrow

miin kaṭalil vaal kiṛa miin

(1 . . 4 = constituent sentence; 5 = NP of the matrix sentence)

2. *Relative Participle deletion*

miin kaṭalil vaal kiṛa miin

SD: N- N-Loc.S- Vb+RP- N

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 . . 6 = = = \Rightarrow 1 2 3 6 (where 1 = 6)

miin kaṭalil vaal kiṛa miin = = = \Rightarrow

miin kaṭalil miin

3. *Locative case suffix deletion*

miin kaṭali miin

SD N- N-Loc.S- N

1 2 3 4

SC: 1 . . 4 = = = \Rightarrow 1 2 4 (where 1 = 4)

miin kaṭalil miin \Rightarrow

miin kaṭal miin

4. *Equi-NP deletion*

miin kaṭal miin

SD: N- N- N
1 2 3

SC: 1 . . . 3 \Rightarrow 2 3

miin kaṭal miin \Rightarrow

kaṭal miin.

2.4.6. *Temporal + Subject*

There is a set of compounds which have the “temporal + Subject” relationship between their constituents.

The first member of the compound denotes the time of the action done by the subject. The second member represents the subject. Consider the following.

1. kaaṭai veyyil “morning sunshine”
2. aṇṭi maṇṭaarai “maṇṭaarai (flower) which blooms in the evening”
3. paruva malai “seasonal rains” (rains which come in proper season)
4. caama-k-kooli “the cock which crows before dawn”

One can posit appropriate source sentences taking into consideration the specific features of the head word— This has to be done because the source verbs are almost decided or dictated by the head nouns. Ofcourse we can have synomynous verbs associated with the semantic aspect of the nouns. Nouns like veyyil will have aṭikkum; maṇṭaarai can have either arumpum “will bud” or puukkum “will bloom” The following will be the source sentence for the above compounds.

1.a. veyyil kaalaiyil aṭikkum

“The sun will shine in the morning” (lit. the sun-shine will beat in the morning)

2.a. maṇṭaarai aṇṭiyil puukkum

“The mantaarai (flower) will bloom in the evening” (twilight)

3.a. maṭai paruvattil peyyum

“The rains rain in the (appropriate) season”

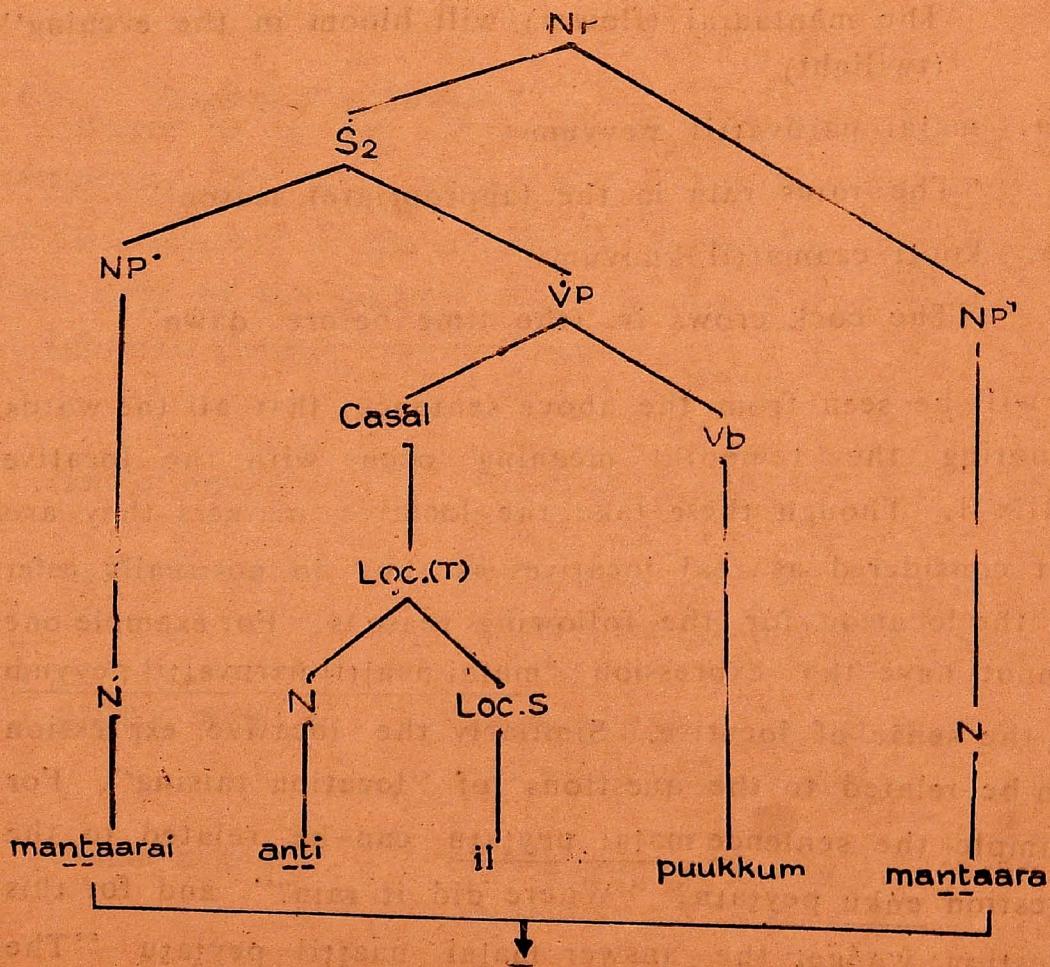
4.a. kooli caamat̄til kuuvum

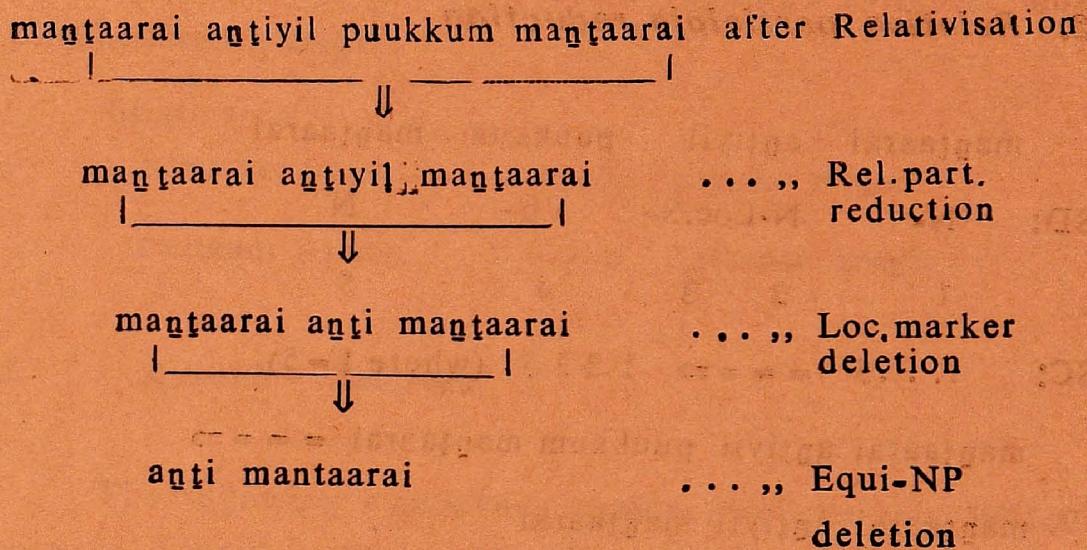
“The cock crows in (the time before dawn”

It will be seen from the above sentences that all the words denoting the temporal meaning occur with the locative suffix il. Though these take the locative markers they are not considered as real locatives as they do not really refer to the location for the following reasons. For example one cannot have the expression *maṭai naṭṭil paruvattil peyyum in the sense of locative. Similarly the locative expression can be related to the questions of “location raising”. For example the sentence maṭai peyṭaṭu can be related to the question eṇku peyṭaṭu? “Where did it rain?” and for this question we get the answer maṭai naṭṭil peyṭaṭu “The

rains rained in the country" giving the real location. But this question cannot be raised with regard to the sentence involving a temporal aspect. This difference in the syntactic behaviour leads us to treat those nouns with locative markers as meaning the temporal aspect only and not the locations.

All the source sentences from 1.a to 4.a could be derived from the following deep structure viz., N(Subject) + Temporal + Verb. The derivation will be explained below with the help of an example from the above list. Let us take the example anti mantaarai whose source sentence is 2.a. The lying phrase marker and the NP of the matrix sentence are explained below in the form of a tree diagram. Afterwards the transformations involved in the process of derivation is given.





Detailed derivation.

1. *Relativisation*

manṭaarai aṇṭiyil puukkum manṭaarai

SD: N- N-Loc. S- Vb- N
 1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1 . . . 5 = = = = ⇒ 1 2 3 4 + RP 5 (where 1 = 5)

manṭaarai aṇṭiyil puukkum manṭaarai = = = = ⇒

manṭaarai aṇṭiyil puukkum manṭaarai

(1 . . . 4 represents the constituent sentence; 5 represents the NP of the matrix sentence)

(puukkum + RP = = = = ⇒ puukkum morphophonemically)

2. Relative participle reduction

maṇṭaarai aṇṭiyil puukkum maṇṭaarai

SD: N-	N-Loc.S-	Vb-	N	
1	2	3	4	5

SC: 1...5 ==> 1 2 3 5 (where 1 = 5)

maṇṭaarai aṇṭiyil puukkum maṇṭaarai ==>
maṇṭaarai aṇṭiyil maṇṭaarai

3. Locative suffix deletion

maṇṭaarai aṇṭiyil maṇṭaarai

SD: N-	N-Loc.S-	N	
1	2	3	4

SC: 1...4 ==> 1 2 4 (where 1 = 4)

maṇṭaarai aṇṭiyil maṇṭaarai ==>
maṇṭaarai aṇṭi maṇṭaarai

4. Equi-NP deletion

maṇṭaarai aṇṭi maṇṭaarai

SD: N-	N-	N
1	2	3

SC: 1...3 ==> 2 3

maṇṭaarai aṇṭi maṇṭaarai ==>
aṇṭi maṇṭaarai

The following compounds will undergo suitable morphophonemic changes.

Similarly

paruvam + maļai = = = ⇒ paruva maļai

caamam + kooļi = = = ⇒ Caama-k-kooļi

2. *Adverb + Subject*

The following compounds show a relationship as that of between adverb+subject. The first member of the compounds are generally treated as attributed and are explained as adjectives. As we have mentioned already that these adjectives are really the adverbs of the source verbs. There is a possibility of deriving these adverbs from neutral attributes. These neutral attributes are nominalised before they are adverbialised. Before further discussion one may present the examples.

1. teļi ɳiir "clear water"
2. kaṭuṇ kujir "severe cold"
3. peruṇkooyil "big temple"
4. aruṇ ceyal "rare act"
5. maṭṭa arici "bad rice" (lit.) rice of bad quality.

In the above compounds teļi, kaṭum, perum, arum, maṭṭam are such attributes. I propose here that these should be treated as "neutral elements" which transformationally become nominals, adverbials etc. For example the neutral element teļi when transformed into an adverbial first

becomes nominalised and then it takes the adverbial suffix-aaka which in turn comes from the predicate verb aakum. Thus

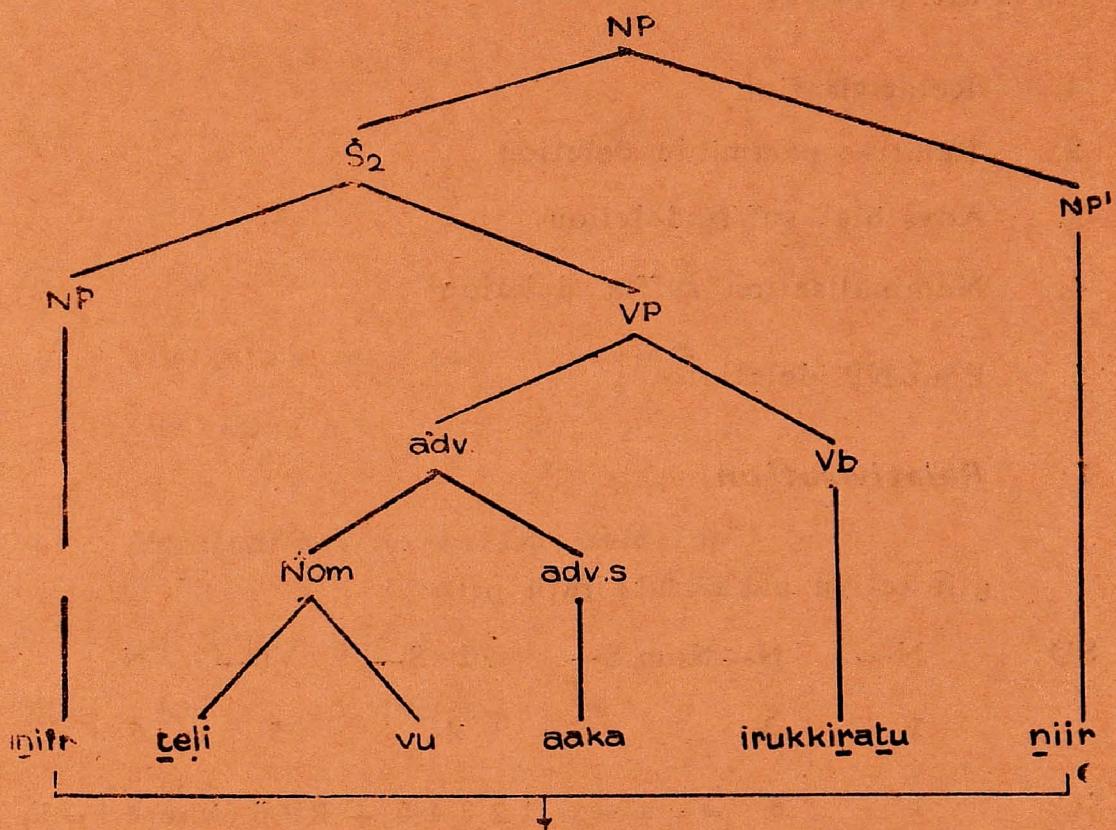
teļi ==> teļivu (Nominal) ==> teļivaaka (adverb)
The compound teļiniir is derived from the source sentence
niir teļivaaka irukkiraṭu "The water is clear"

niir teļivaaka irukkiraṭu ==> teļivaaka irukkira niir
==> teļivaana niir ==> teļi niir

Thus the structure teļivaana niir which is generally taken as source structure is really an intermediary - stage - structure which is derived from a deeper structure where we find an adverb. For our present analysis this kind of detailed analysis is not attempted and only a sketchy derivation is suggested.

The compound teļi niir is taken up here for demonstrating the derivation. The source sentence for this will be 1.a. niir teļivaaka irukkiraṭu. Accordingly the deep structure for this as well as other compounds given above will be.

N(Subject)+Adverb + Verb



niir teili vu aaka irukkira niir ... after Relativisation

niir teili vu aaka niir ... " Rel.part.reduction

niir teili vu niir ... " Adv.suffix deletion

niir teili niir ... " Nom.suffix deletion

teili niir ... " Equi-NP deletion

As pointed out above the following transformational rules are applied.

1. Relativisation
2. Relative participle deletion
3. Adverbial suffix deletion
4. Nominalisation suffix deletion
5. Equi-NP deletion

1. *Relativisation*

niir tēl̄ivu aaka irukkirātu niir

SD: N— N—Nom.S— adv.S— Vb— N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 5 = = = = \Rightarrow 1 2 3 4 5 + RP 6 (where 1 = 3)

niir tēl̄ivu aaka irukkirātu niir = = = = \Rightarrow

niir tēl̄ivu aaka irukkirā niir

2. *Relative participle reduction*

niir tēl̄ivu aaka irukkirā niir

SD: N— N—Nom.S— adv.S— Vb + RP— N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 7 = = = \Rightarrow 1 2 3 4 7 (where 1 = 7)

niir tēl̄ivu aaka irukkirā niir = = = \Rightarrow

niir tēl̄ivu aaka niir

3. *Adverbial suffix deletion*

ŋiir teliwu aaka ŋiir

SD:	N—	N—Nom.S—	adv.S—	N
	1	2	3	4
SC:	1 5	====>	1 2 3 5	(where 1 = 5)

ŋiir teliwu aaka ŋiir ==>

ŋiir teliwu ŋiir

4. *Nominalisation suffix deletion*

ŋiir teliwu ŋiir

SD:	N—	N—Nom.S—	N
	1	2	3

SC:	1 4	====>	1 2 4	(where 1 = 4)
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ŋiir teliwu ŋiir ==>

ŋiir teli ŋiir

5. *Equi-NP deletion*

ŋiir teli ŋiir

SD:	N—	N—	N
	1	2	3

SC:	1 3	====>	2 3
-----	-------------	-------	-----

ŋiir teli ŋiir ==>

teli ŋiir

2.4.8. Cause + Subject

1. ammai-t-talumpu "small pox markings"
2. tii-p-puṇ "fire-burns"
3. veelai-t-tontarav "worry due to work/labour"
4. paci mayakkam "fatigue due to hunger"
5. malai-t-taṇṇiir "rain-water"
6. cuuṭṭu-k-koppulam "eruptions due to heat"

The above compounds show a relationship of "cause+subject." The first member denotes the cause. The effect resulted due to the cause is denoted by the second member which junctions as the subject. The source sentences for the above will be as follows:

- 1.a. ammaiyaal talumpu vanṭaṭu
"The markings appear because of small-pox"
- 2.a. tiiyaal puṇ vanṭaṭu
"The burns appear due to fire"
- 3.a. veelaiyaal tonṭaruvu vanṭaṭu
"Worries occurred due to (over) work"
- 4 a paciyyaal mayakkam vanṭaṭu
"Fatigue came due to hunger"
- 5.a. malaiyaal taṇṇiir vanṭaṭu
"Water came due to rain"
- 6.a. cuuṭṭaal koppulam vanṭaṭu
"Burns appeared due to heat"

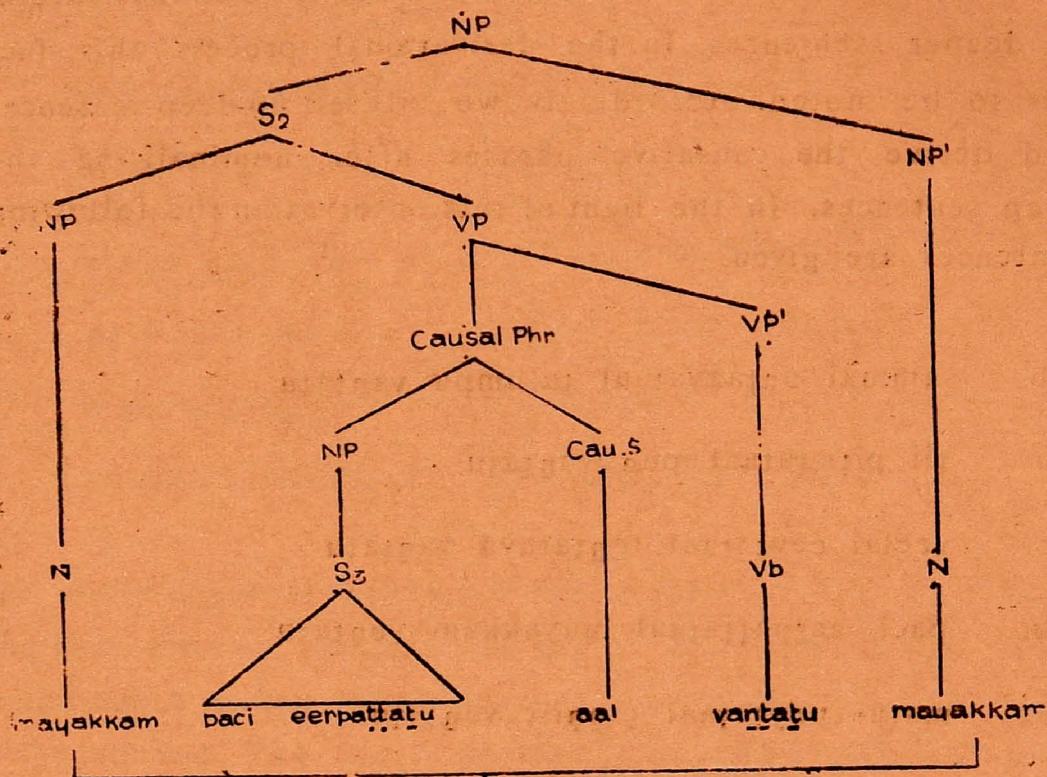
Though the members denoting the cause appear as nouns in sentences above 1.a to 6.a they are really nominalisations of deeper sentences. In the derivational process this fact has to be noted. Accordingly we will set up deep sentences and derive the causative phrases after nominalising the deep sentences. In the light of this observation the following sentences are given.

- 1.b. ammai uṇṭaayaṭaal ṭalumpu vanṭaṭu
- 2.b. tii piṭiṭṭaal puṇ vanṭaṭu
- 3.b. veelai ceyṭṭaal toṇṭaravu vanṭaṭu
- 4.b. paci eerpaṭṭaal mayakkam vanṭaṭu
- 5.b. malai peyṭṭaal ṭaṇṇiir vanṭaṭu
- 6.b. cuuṭṭi uṇṭaayaṭaal koppulam vanṭaṭu

The deep structure for the above source sentence will be:

N(Subject) + N(Instrumental) + Verb.

The compound 4 pacimayakkam is taken up here for demonstrating the derivation. As given above the source sentence for this compound is 5.b. The diagrammatic as well as other explanations follow.



mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭaṭaal vanṭaṭu mayakkam...after Nominalisation

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭaṭuaal vanṭa mayakkam... " Relativisation

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭaṭaal mayakkam ... " Rel. part Reduction

mayakkam paci mayakkam ... " Causative phrase deletion

Paci mayakkam " Equi—Np deletion

As indicated above the following transformational rules are applied.

1. *Nominalisation of the Verb in S₃*

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭataal vanṭatu mayakkam

SD: N— N— Vb— Caus.S— Vb— N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 6 = = = = \Rightarrow 1 2 3 4 5 6 (where 1 = 6)

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭatau aal vanṭatu mayakkam = = = =

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭataal vanṭatu mayakkam

(1 5 = Constituent sentences S₂ and S₃; 6 = NP of the matrix sentence; eerpaṭṭatau+aal also become as. eerpaṭṭamaiyaal after nominalisation. But since eerpaṭṭataal is also equally right that is adopted here

2. *Relativisation*

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭataal vanṭatu mayakkam

SD: N— N— N—Caus. S— Vb— N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 6 = = = = \Rightarrow 1 2 3 4 5 + RP 6 (where 1 = 6)

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭataal vanṭatu mayakkam = = = =

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭataal vanṭa mayakkam

3. Relative participle reduction.

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭaṭaal vanṭa mayakkam

SD: N- N- N-Caus. S- Vb+RP- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1...7 ==> 1 2 3 4 7 (where 1=7)

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭaṭaal vanṭa mayakkam ==>

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭaṭaal mayakkam

4. Causative phrase deletion.

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭaṭaal mayakkam

SD: N- N- N-Caus. S- N
 1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1...5 ==> 1 2 5 (where 1=5)

mayakkam paci eerpaṭṭaṭaal mayakkam ==>

mayakkam paci mayakkam

5. Equi-NP deletion

mayakkam paci mayakkam

SD: N- N- N
 1 2 3

SC: 1...3 ==> 2 3

mayakkam paci mayakkam ==>

paci mayakkam

2.4.9. *Predicate + Subject*

There is a good number of compound words which show a "Predicate + Subject" relationship. Here too, in Tamil we have got two types of predicates viz., (1) Noun predicate and (2) Verb predicate. The set of compounds which are going to be discussed below belong to the latter type. A few examples are given below.

1.	aaṭu caṭai	“the moving muscle” i.e. “the calf muscle”
2.	uuṛu kaay	“the vegetable that soaks” i.e. the pickle”
3.	kol kaṭiru	“the killing elephant”
4.	cellaa-k-kaacu	“the coin which does not go” i.e. “the counterfeit / worn out coin”
5.	varu viruṇṭu	“the coming guests”

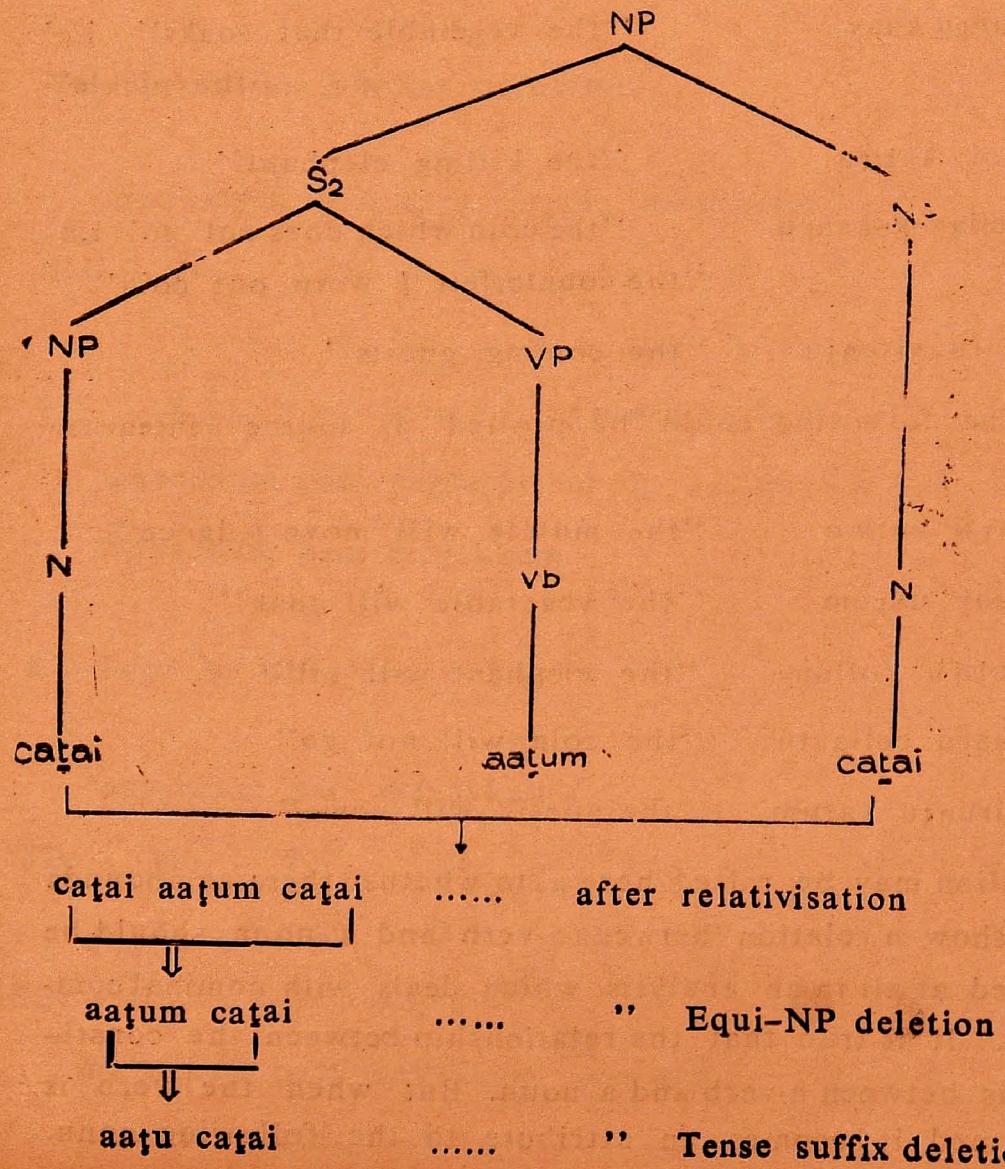
The following could be posited as source sentences.

1.a. caṭai aaṭum	"the muscle will move / dance"
2.a. kaay uuṛum	"the vegetable will soak"
3.a. kaṭiṛu kollum	"the elephant will kill"
4.a. kaacu cellaatu	"the coin will not go"
5.a. viruṇṭu varum	"the guests will come"

A question may be raised here as to whether these compounds which show a relation between a verb and a noun should be discussed at all in an analysis which deals with nominal compounds. It is true that the relationship between the constituents is between a verb and a noun. But when the verb is transformed it becomes an attribute to the following noun.

As such it could be called a noun. We can say that the verb is nominalised to become an attribute or the verb root itself is a nominal. This suggestion has a bearing on the interpretation of the verb roots found in finite verbs in Tamil. Since this is out of the scope of the present study no further comment is made except to give pre-theoretical suggestion.

The compound (1) is taken up here for showing the derivation. The source sentence for this is 1.a. The deep syntactic structure will be : N(Subject) + Verb (Predicate) The derivation etc., through transformations are explained below.



The detailed derivation is given below;

1. *Relativisation*

caṭai aaṭum caṭai

SD: N- Vb+T N
1 2 3 4

SC: 1...4 ==> 1 2 3 + RP 4 (where 1-4)

caṭai aaṭum caṭai ==>
caṭai aaṭum -caṭai

2. *Equi-NP deletion*

caṭai aaṭum caṭai

SD: N- Vb+T+RP- N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1...5 ==> 2 3 4 5

caṭai aaṭum caṭai ==>
aaṭum caṭai

3. *Relative participle deletion*

aaṭum caṭai

SD: Vb+T+RP- N

1 2 3 4

SC: 1...4 ==> 1 2 4

aaṭum caṭai ==>
aaṭum caṭai

4. Tense suffix deletion

aaṭum caṭai

SD: Vb+T N

1 2 3

SC: 1...3 ==> 1 3

aaṭum caṭai ==>

aaṭu caṭai

2.5. Compounds in which the second member is Locative.

2.5.1. Subject + Locative

Compounds like

1.	aṭṭi-k-kuuṭam	"elephant-yard"
2.	paampu-p-purru	"serpent-holes"
3.	cinka-k-kukai	"lion-den"
4.	kiṭi-p-poṇṭu	"parrot-hole"
5.	ammam kaacu	"coin in which the image of Amman is imprinted"

have the "Subject + Locative" relation. The second member of the compound denotes the location wherein the thing represented by the first member of the compound usually lives or stays. Compound 5 is an exception to this. This will be explained later. For compounds 1 to 4 the verbs iru or uṭ "to be" or ṭaṅku "to stay" could be conveniently posited as source verb. Thus we have the following sentences:

1.a. aṭṭi kuuṭṭṭil uṭṭatu / irukkiraṭu / taṇkukiraṭu
 "The elephant is in the hall / yard"

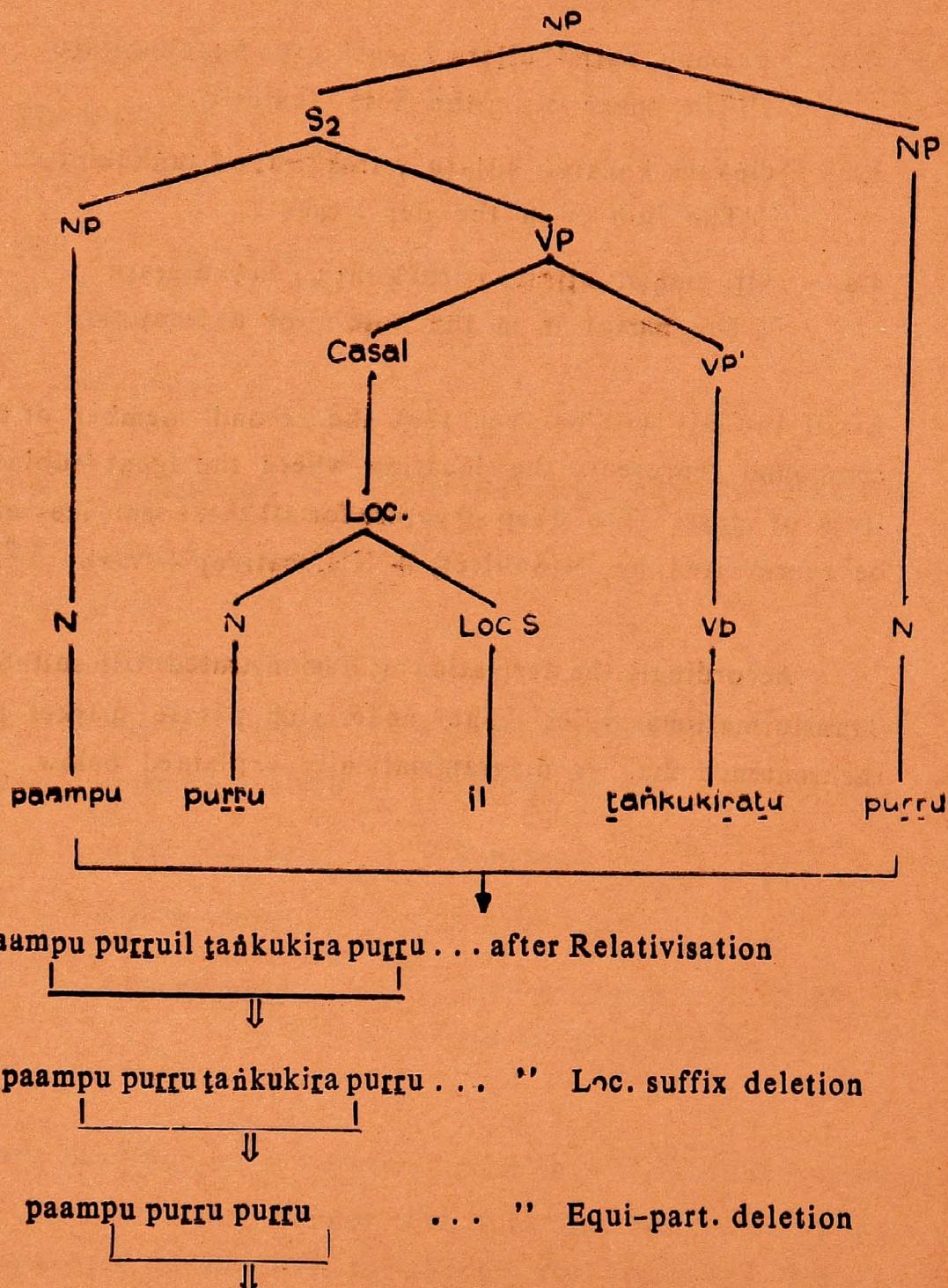
2.a. paampu purrīl uṭṭatu / irukkiraṭu / taṇkukiraṭu
 "The snake is in the hole (anthill)"

3.a. ciṇkam kukaiyil uṭṭatu / irukkiraṭu / taṇkukiraṭu
 "The lion is in the den / cave"

4.a. kiṭṭi poṇṭil uṭṭatu / irukkiraṭu / taṇkukiraṭu
 "The parrot is in the hole (of a tree)"

In all these it will be seen that the second member of the compound represents the location where the agent (subject) lives or stays. The deep structure for all these sentences will be represented by N(Subject) + N(Locative) + Verb.

Accordingly the derivation is demonstrated with suitable Transformational rules. The underlying phrase marker for the sentence 2.a. is diagrammatically explained below.



As pointed out above the following transformational rules are applied.

1. Relativisation.
2. Locative case suffix deletion.
3. Relative participle deletion.
4. Equi-NP deletion.

The detailed derivation is given below.

1. *Relativisation*

paampu purru il ulla purru

SD: N- N-Loc.S- Vb- N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1...5 ==> 1 2 3 + + RP 5 (where 2=5)

paampu purru il ulla purru ==>

paampu purru il ulla purru

(1...4 = Constituent sentence; 5 = NP of the matrix sentence.)

2. *Locative case suffix deletion*

paampu purru il ulla purru

SD: N- N-Loc.S- Vb+RP- N
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1...6 ==> 1 2 4 5 6 (where 2=6)

paampu purru il ulla purru ==>

paampu purru ulla purru

3. *Relative participle deletion*

paampu purru uṭṭa purru

SD: N— N— Vb+RP— N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1 . . . 5 \Rightarrow 1 2 5 (where 2 = 5)

paampu purru uṭṭa purru

paampu purru purru

4. *Equi-Np deletion*

paampu purru purru

SD: N— N— N
1 2 3

SC: 1 . . . 3 \Rightarrow 1 3

paampu purru purru \Rightarrow

paampu purru

After morphophonemic changes this becomes as
paampu-p-purru.

Similarly

atṭi + kuuṭam \Rightarrow atṭi-k-kuuṭam

ciṅkam + kukai \Rightarrow ciṅka-k-kukai

kili + poṇṭu \Rightarrow kili-p-poṇṭu

Compound (5) ammam kaacu needs some explanation. The first member of this compound has reached a stage of metaphor i.e. amman means the image of annan "goddess". Accordingly the source sentence for this compound could be.

5(a) amman uruvam kaacil ullatu / irukkigatu

"The image of Amman (Goddess) is in the coin". But for this meaning shift the compound could be derived as demonstrated before without any difficulty. The same transformational rules hold good for this also. The problem of identifying this meaning with the surface level word is another area of semantics and it is not attempted here.

2.5.2. Object + Locative

1.	naaṭaka meeṭai	"drama stage"
2.	viṭaiyaaṭu maiṭaanam	"play-ground"
3.	miṭṭaay-k-kaṭai	"sweetmeat shop"
4.	vaalai-t-tootṭam	"plantain garden / grove"
5.	nel vayal	"paddy field"

The above type of compounds forms another large group wherein we find the relation "Object + Locative" between its constituents. It should be pointed out here that the association between the location and the object is not a permanent one i.e. is not habitual. In the example kaaṭṭu yaanai "jungle elephant" the association between the elephant and the location jungle is somewhat permanent. The elephant usually lives there. The association there is habitual whereas in the example

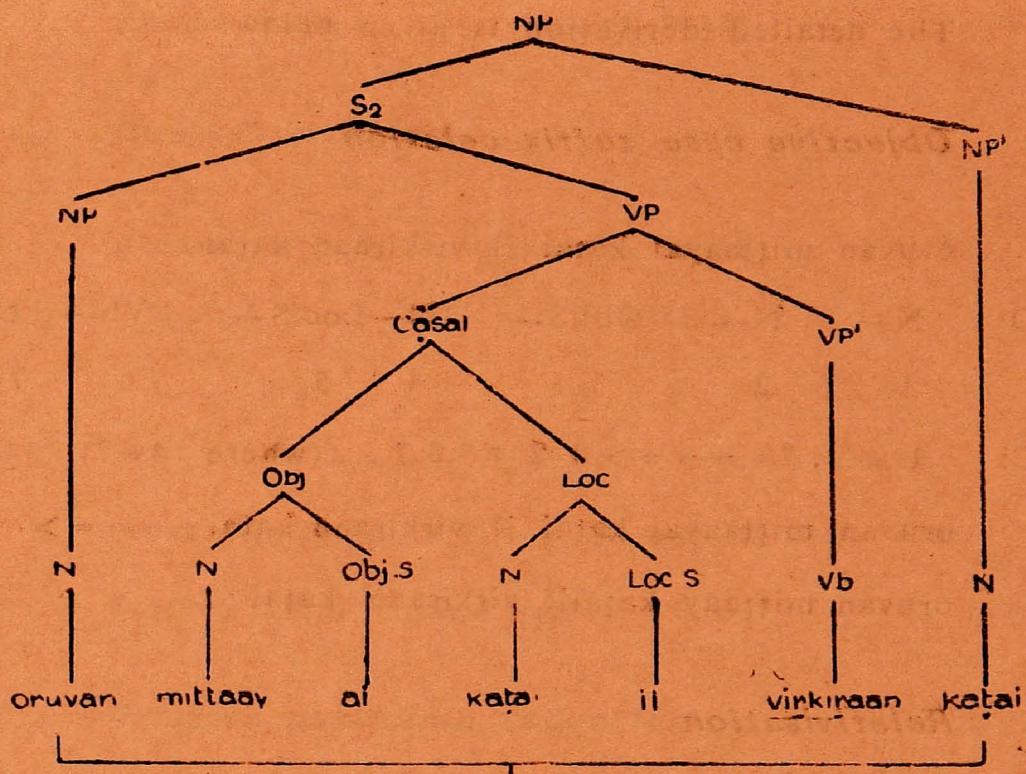
1. naataka meetai the association between the drama (the people who act there) and stage is only temporary. This kind of difference has to be noted in deciding about the relationship between the constituents. Similarly this has to be distinguished from the relationship of purposive + subject.

For example the compound raca vaali "pepper-water container" can also be treated as Object + Locative on the basis of the source sentence oruvan racatmai vaaliyil vaitti-rukkiraan. "Someone is keeping pepper water in a container bucket". But it was argued earlier (See section on purposive + Subject) that though this reading is also possible the immediate reaction of the native speaker is to the reading showing purposive + object relationship. Taking into account all these the compounds naataka meetai etc., are treated here as showing the relationship of "object + Locative"

The deep structure for this type of compounds is N(Subject) + N(object) + N(Locative) + Verb. The compound 3. miṭṭaay-k-kaṭai is taken up here for demonstrating the derivation. The source sentence for this will be

3.a. oruvan miṭṭaayai kaṭaiyil virkiraan
"Someone sells sweatmeat in the shop"

The derivation is diagrammatically explained below.



oruvan mittaaay kaṭayil virkigaan kaṭai ... after obj. suffix deletion

oruvan mittaaay kaṭaiyil virkiga kaṭai ... " Relativisation

oruvan mittaaay kaṭai virkiga kaṭai ... " Loc. suffix deletion

mittaaay kaṭai virkiga kaṭai ... " Subject deletion

mittaaay kaṭai kaṭai ... " Rel. part. deletion

mittaaay kaṭai ... " Equi-NP deletion

The detailed derivation is given below.

1. Objective case suffix deletion

oruvan miṭṭaayai kaṭai il virkiraan kaṭai

SD: N— N— Obj.S— N—Loc.S— Vb— N
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1 . . . 7 ==> 1 2 4 5 6 7 (where 4 = 7)

oruvan miṭṭaayai kaṭai il virkiraan kaṭai ==>

oruvan miṭṭaay kaṭaiil virkiraan kaṭai

2. Relativisation

oruvan miṭṭaay kaṭai il virkiraan kaṭai

SD: N— N— N—Loc.S— Vb— N
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 . . . 6 ==> 1 2 3 4 5 + RP 6 (where 3 = 6)

oruvan miṭṭaay kaṭaiil virkiraan kaṭai ==>

oruvan miṭṭaay kaṭail virkira kaṭai

3. Locative case suffix deletion

oruvan miṭṭaay kaṭaiil virkira kaṭai

SD: N— N— N—Loc.S— Vb+RP— N
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1 . . . 7 ==> 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 (where 3 = 7)

oruvan miṭṭaay kaṭaiil virkira kaṭai ==>

oruvan miṭṭaay kaṭai virkiṛa kaṭai

4. *Subject deletion*

oruvan miṭṭaay kaṭai virkiṛa kaṭai

SD: N— N— N— Vb+RP— N
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 . . . 6 = = = ⇒ 2 3 4 5 6 (where 3 = 6)

oruvan miṭṭaay kaṭai virkiṛa kaṭai = = = ⇒

miṭṭaay kaṭai virkiṛa kaṭai

5. *Relative participle reduction*

miṭṭaay kaṭai virkiṛa kaṭai

SD: N— N— Vb+RP— N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1 . . . 5 = = = ⇒ 1 2 5 (where 2 = 5)

miṭṭaay kaṭai virkiṛa kaṭai = = = ⇒

miṭṭaay kaṭai kaṭai

6. *Equi NP deletion*

miṭṭaay kaṭai kaṭai

SD: N- N- N
1 2 3

SC: 1 . . . 3 = = = ⇒ 1 3

miṭṭaay kaṭai kaṭai →

miṭṭaay kaṭai

miṭṭaay + kaṭai → miṭṭaay-k-kaṭai morphophonemically.

Similarly

vaalai + ṭooṭṭam → vaalai-ṭ-ṭooṭṭam

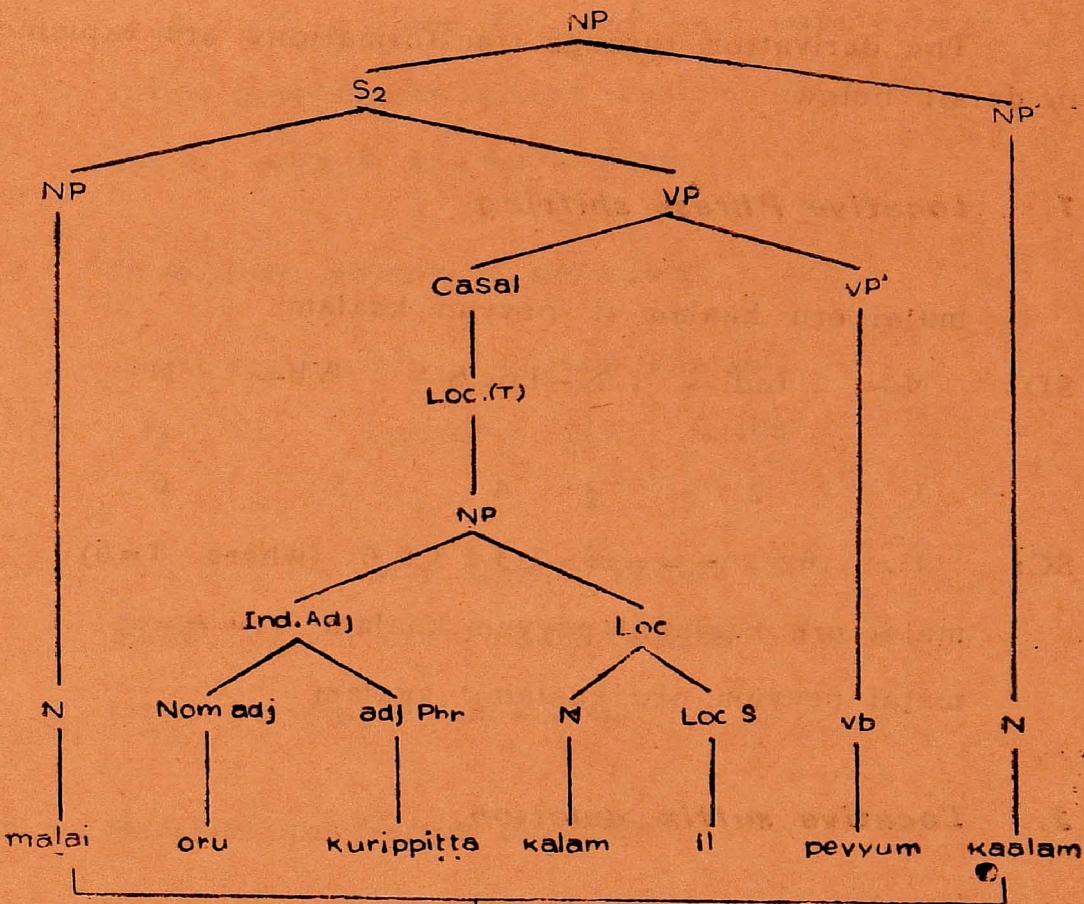
2.6. Compounds in which the second member is Temporal.

2.6.1. *Subject + Temporal*

We have another set of compounds which show a relation of "Subject + Temporal" Examples are as follows.

1. malai-k-kaalam "rainy season"
2. kaaru-k-aalam "windy season"
3. veyyil neeram "sunshine time"
4. veyyil kaalam "summer" (lit. "sunshine period")

As explained already under "Object + Temporal" the temporal sense is expressed by the second member. The explanations regarding the positing of an indefinite adjective and the presence of the locative suffix in the sense of "temporal" hold good with these compounds also. Without repeating further what we have said already we can proceed to demonstrate the derivational process. The deep structure for these expressions will be N(Subject) + N(Locative)+ Verb. Let us take the example malai-k-kaalam. The source sentence for this is 1.a. malai oru kuṛippiṭṭa kaalaṭṭil peyyum. The derivation of the compound is explained below in detail. First we will start with the tree diagram depicting the base phrase marker and the NP of the matrix sentence,



malai peyyum oru kurippitta kalam il ... after Loc.phrase shifting

malai peyyum oru kalam kaalam ... " Loc. suffix deletion

malai peyyum oru kalam kaalam ... " Relativisation

malai peyyum kalam kaalam ... " Ind. adj. deletion

malai kalam kaalam ... " Rel. part.

malai kaalam ... " Equi—NP deletion

The derivation through transformations are explained in detail below.

1. Locative Phrase shifting

małai oru kaalam il peyyum kaalam

SD: N— Ind.— N—Loc.S— Vb— N
adj

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 . . . 6 — = = = \Rightarrow 1 5 2 3 4 6 (where 3 = 6)

małai oru kaalamil peyyum kaalam — = = = \Rightarrow
małai peyyum oru kaalamil kaalam

2. Locative suffix deletion

małai peyyum oru kaalamil kaalam

SD: N— Vb— Ind.— N—Loc.S— N
adj

1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1 . . . 6 — = = = \Rightarrow 1 2 3 4 6 (where 4 = 6)

małai peyyum oru kaalamil kaalam — = = = \Rightarrow
małai peyyum oru kaalam kaalam

3. Relativisation

małai peyyum oru kaalam kaalam

SD: N— Vb— Ind. adj— N— N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1. . . 5 \Rightarrow 1 2 + RP 3 4 5 (where 4 = 5)

małai peyyum our kaalam kaalam \Rightarrow

małai peyyum kaalam kaalam

4. *Indefinite adjective deletion*

małai peyyum oru kaalam kaalam

SD: N- Vb- Ind.adj- N- N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1. . . 5 \Rightarrow 1 2 4 5 (where 4 = 5)

małai peyyam oru kaalam kaalam \Rightarrow

małai peyyum kaalam kaalam

5. *Relative participle deletion*

małai peyyum kaalam kaalam

SD: N— Vb + RP— N— N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1. . . 5 \Rightarrow 1 4 5 (where 4 = 5)

małai peyyum kaalam kaalam \Rightarrow

małai kaalam kaalam

6. *Equi-NP deletion*

małai kaalam kaalam

SD: N- N- N
1 2 3

SC: 1. . . 3 \Rightarrow 1 3

małai kaalam kaalam ==>
małai kaalam

malai + kaalam ==> malai-k-kaalam through
relevant
morphophonemic rules.

Similarly

kaarru + kaalam ==> karru-k-kaalam

2.6.2. Object + Temporal

1. caappaat̪u neeram "lunch time"
2. cuṭaṅt̪ira naaḷ "independence day"
3. koorikkai ṭinam "demands day"
4. viṭuṭalai ḡaaḷ "independence day"
5. kuṭiyaracu ṭinam "republic day"

Compounds of the above type show a relation of "Object + temporal". The second member denotes a time when something is done. The first member functions as an object. The time factor is conceptualised in Tamil like the units viz., vinaati "second", ṇimiṭam "minute", iravu "night", pakal "daytime", naaḷ "day", vaaram "week" etc., when an action is involved the time when the action has taken place has to be specified. In the example 1. caappaat̪u neeram the second member denotes the time when the food is taken. So the time for food is referred to by the compound caappaat̪u

neeram. However when a source sentence like the following is traced for this compound we do not find a specification for the time concept. In the sentence 1.a. oruvan caappaat̪ai neerat̪til caappiṭuvaan "Someone will eat the food in (a particular) time". However the meaning "a particular" is not found represented in the sentence we have shown above. But the intuition of the native speaker suggests that there is the specification of the time and it is realised by him when he hears the compound. This fact has to be incorporated in the deeper structure if it should explain the competence of the native speaker. Then it becomes necessary to posit some kind of adjective - in this case an indefinite adjective phrase. Accordingly the improved source sentence for this compound will be

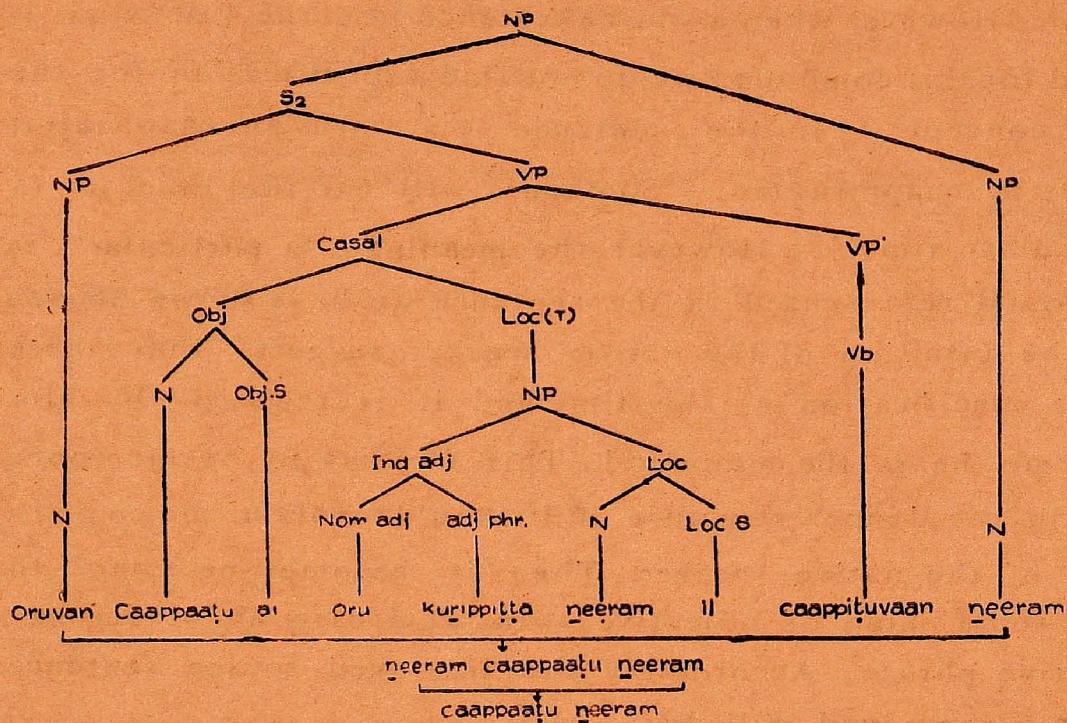
1.b. oruvan oru kuṛippit̪ta neerat̪til caappiṭuvaan

"Someone will eat food at a particular time"

Secondly the presence of the locative case suffix in this sentence needs some explanation. Though the locative case suffix is used here only a "temporal" meaning is intended. In Tamil the time concept is generally expressed with the locative suffix in the surface level.

The deep structure for this source sentence as well as for other compounds will be N(Subject) + N(Object) + Indefinite adjectival phrase + N(Locative-Time) + Verb

The example caappaat̪tu neeram is taken up for demonstration. The source sentence for this will be 1.b. The base phrase marker, NP of the matrix sentence are explained in the following diagram.



The following transformational rules are applied.

1. Object case suffix deletion
2. Locative case suffix deletion
3. Relativisation
4. Indefinite adjectival phrase deletion
5. Subject deletion
6. Relative participle deletion
7. Equi-Np deletion

The detailed derivation is explained below.

1. Object case suffix deletion

Oruvan caappaatu ai oru kurippitta neeram il

SD: N— N—Obj.S— Ind-adj-phr.- N—Loc.S—
 1 2 3 4 5 6

caapiṭuvaaen neeram

Vb— N
 7 8

SC: 1. . . . 8 = = = \Rightarrow 1 2 4 5 6 7 8 (where 5 = 8)

oruvan caappaatua oru kuṛippiṭṭa neeramil

caappiṭuvaaan neeram = = = \Rightarrow

oruvan caappaatua oru kuṛippiṭṭa neeramil

caappiṭuvan neeram

(1. . . . 7 = Constituent sentence; 8 = NP of the matrix sentence)

2. Locative case suffix deletion:

oruvan caappaatua oru kuṛippiṭṭa neeram il
 SD: N- N- Ind-adj-phr.- N-Loc. S-
 1 2 3 4 5

caappiṭuvaaan neeram

Vb N
 6 7

SC: 1. . . . 7 = = = \Rightarrow 1 2 3 4 6 7 (where 4 = 7)

oruvan caappaatua oru kuṛippiṭṭa neeramil

caappiṭuvaaan neeram = = = \Rightarrow

oruvan caappaatua oru kuṛippiṭṭa neeram caappiṭuvaaan
neeram

3. *Relativisation:*

oruvan caappaatu oru kuṛippiṭṭa neeram

SD: N- N- Ind-adj-phr.- N-
1 2 3 4

caappiṭṭuvaan neeram

Vb- N
5 6

SC: 1 . . . 6 \Rightarrow 1 2 3 + 5 + RP 6 (where 4 = 6)

oruvan caappaatu oru kuṛippiṭṭa neeram

caappiṭṭuvaan neeram \Rightarrow

oruvan caappaatu oru kuṛippiṭṭa neeram

caappiṭṭukira neeram

4. *Indefinite adjectival phrase deletion*

oruvan caappaatu oru kuṛippiṭṭa neeram

SD: N- N- Ind-adj.phr.- N-
1 2 3 4

caappiṭṭukira neeram

Vb + RP- N
5 6 7

SC: 1 . . . 7 \Rightarrow 1 2 4 5 6 7 (where 4 = 7)

oruvan caappaatu oru kuṛippiṭṭa neeram caappiṭṭukira
neeram \Rightarrow

oruvan caappaatu neeram caappiṭṭukira neeram

5. *Subject deletion*

oruvan caappaatu neeram caappiukira neeram

SD: N- N- N- Vb+RP- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1....6 - - - \Rightarrow 2 3 4 5 o where 3 = 6)

oruvan caappaatu neeram caappiukira neeram - - - \Rightarrow
 caappaatu neeram caappiukira neeram

6. *Relative principle deletion:*

caappaatu neeram caappiukira neeram

SD: N- N- Vb+RP- N
 1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1...5 - - - \Rightarrow 1 2 5 (where 2 = 5)

caappaatu neeram caappiukira neeram - - - \Rightarrow
 caappaatu neeram neeram

7. *Equi-NP deletion:*

caappaatu neeram neeram

SD: N- N- N
 1 2 3

SC: 1...3 - - - \Rightarrow 1 3

caappaatu neeram neeram - - - \Rightarrow
 caappaatu neeram

After morphophonemic changes the compound becomes caappaat̪tu neeram.

Similarly

cuṭaṇṭiram + ɳaaḷ = = = ⇒ cuṭaṇṭira ɳaaḷ

2.7. Other types.

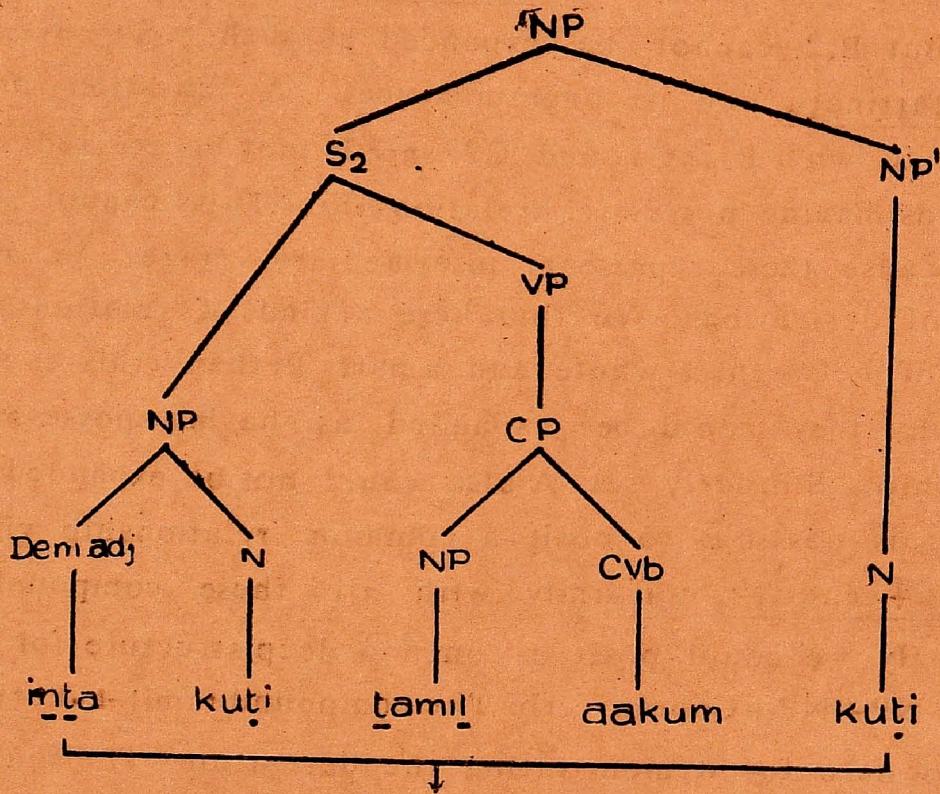
2.7.1. Specific + generic

The following set of compounds show a “specific + generic” relationship among its constituents. The second member denotes a species in that showing a generality whereas the first member refers to a particular variety belonging to the same species. Hence the relationship “specific and generic”. Both forms could be traced to nominals which function as Subject and Predicate linked by a copula verb in the source sentence. These sets are given below for reasons described later.

A.1.	ṭamil-k-kuṭi	“Tamil clan”
2.	ṭennai maram	“coconut tree”
3.	maa maram	“mango tree”
4.	caarai-p-paampu	“rat snake”
5.	veelak karumpu	“a variety of sugarcane”
B.1.	mallikai-p-puu	“jasmine flower”
2.	aṭaiyaala-p-puu	“symbolic flower”
C.1.	palaak-kaṭṭai	“log of jack tree”
2.	arici maavu	“rice flour”

B.1. C1 and C2 could be expanded into B.1.a mallikaiyinatū puu "flower of jasmine". C.1.a. palaavinatū kaṭṭai "log of jack tree" and C.2.a ariciyinatū maavu "flour of the rice". But B.2. cannot be expanded as such. So B.2.a. *aṭaiyaalatṭinatū puu is ungrammatical. A question may arise as to why B1, C1 and C2 should not be treated as compounds having possessive relationship. This cannot be done because these represent intermediary stages in the process of derivation. We find here a kind of relationship as that of between a whole and a part. Perhaps this is the reason why they could be expanded as having possessive relationship. Similarly set A also could not be expanded as such. It is possible to posit a common relationship viz., "Specific+generic" uniformly with all these compounds. Accordingly we could posit a common deep structure for all these as NP+NP+Copula Verb. The compound ṭamil-k-kuṭi is taken up here for demonstrating the derivation. The source sentence for this will be inṭa kuṭi ṭamil aakum. "the class is Tamil". The derivation is explained below.

Tree diagram showing the base Phrase marker and the NP of the matrix sentence.



inta kuṭi ṭamīl aakiya kuṭi ... after Relativisation

kuṭi ṭamīl aakiya kuṭi ... " Dem.adj.deletion

kuṭi ṭamīl kuṭi ... " Rel.part.deletion

ṭamīl kuṭi ... " Equi-NP deletion

As indicated above the following transformational rules are applied.

1. Relativisation.
2. Demonstrative adjective deletion.
3. Relative participle deletion.
4. Equi-NP deletion.

1. *Relativisation*

inta kuṭi ṭamil aakum kuṭi

SD: Dem. adj- N- N- CVb- N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1...5 ==> 1 2 3 4 + RP 5 (where 2=5)

inta kuṭi ṭamil aakum kuṭi ==>

inta kuṭi ṭamil aakiya kuṭi

(1...4 = Constituent sentence ; 5 = NP of the matrix sentence)

2. *Demonstrative adjective deletion*:

inta kuṭi ṭamil aakiya kuṭi

SD: Dem. adj- N- N- CVb+RP- N
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1...6 ==> 2 3 4 5 6 (where 2=6)

inta kuṭi ṭamil aakiya kuṭi ==>

kuṭi ṭamil aakiya kuṭi

3. *Relative participle deletion*

kuṭi ṭamīl aakiya kuṭi

SD: N- N- CVb+RP- N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1. . . . 5 - - - \Rightarrow 1 2 5 (where 1 = 5)

kuṭi ṭamīl aakiya kuṭi - - - \Rightarrow

kuṭi ṭamīl kuṭi

4. *Equi-NP deletion:*

kuṭi ṭamīl kuṭi

SD: N- N- N
1 2 3

SC: 1. . . . 3 - - - \Rightarrow 2 3

kuṭi ṭamīl kuṭi - - - \Rightarrow

ṭamīl kuṭi

ṭamīl + kuṭi - - \Rightarrow ṭamīl-k-kuṭi morphophonemically

Similarly

caarai + paampu - - \Rightarrow caarai-p-paampu

veelam + karumpu - - \Rightarrow veela-k-karumpu

mallikai + puu - - \Rightarrow mallikai-p-puu

aṭaiyaalām + puu - - \Rightarrow ataiyaala-p-puu

palaa + kattai - - \Rightarrow palaa-k-kattai

2.7.2. *Object + Verb + i*2.6.2(a) *Object + Verb + (Subject) -i*

There is an interesting set of compounds in Tamil which show a relationship as given in the title. One peculiarity of these compounds is that the third member of the compound is not included as a separate constituent. Instead an anaphoric suffix —i representing either the subject or instrumental is added to the verb. What results is a two member compound. Could it be rather called a three member compound? It is not clear whether they should be treated as two-member compounds or three member compounds. However this fact throws some light on one of the principles of nominalisation in Tamil. we have already pointed out that some of the principles on nominalisation while discussing the formation of adverbials and cognate objects. This is another instance. Before we discuss this process in detail let us see the examples.

1. *uur curri* "a wanderer" (lit. "One who wanders in the city or village)
2. *meeni minukki/ meenu minukki* "a showy woman" (lit. "One who decorates herself")
3. *cumai taanki** "that which bears the burden"

* This is a simple granite stone construction which looks like the cricket wicket poles, which is used by the pilgrims or pedestrians to put their head-load in order to take some rest while they are in journey.

For example the compound 1. uur curri consists of two members uur and curri. In the second member the suffix -i denotes the agent or the subject. This anaphoric suffix may be representing a Human or Non-human subject. In 1 it refers to a person who wanders in the city or village. In 3 it refers to a Non-human inanimate subject. The following source sentences will make the position clear.

1.a. oruvan uurai-c-currukiraan "Someone comes around the city / village"

2.a. oruṭṭi meeni-y-ai minukkukiraṭṭi
"Someone (woman) decorates her body"

3.a. oru kal cumai-y-ai-t-taañkukiraṭṭu
"One stone bears the burden"

It will be seen that in all these sentences some kind of indefinite adjective (like oru) or indefinite pronoun (like oruvan, oruṭṭi) is added invariably. Also the source verbs are all present in the surface structures. In the derivational process what happens is that the subject of the source sentence is shifted to the end and added after the verb. This is nominalised later. While nominalisation takes place the subject noun is changed into the anaphoric suffix -i.

This could be demonstrated with an example viz.. compound 1.

1.a. oruvan uurai-c-currukiraan ==>

uurai-c-currukiraan oruvan

Then after relativisation this becomes uurai-c-currukira
oruvan.

Afterwards uurai-c-currukira oruvan ==>

uurai-c-currukiravan

==> uur currukiravan

uur curukiravan + i ==> uur curru kira + i ==>
 uur curru + i ==> uur curri

This type of nominalisation could be called as Agentive NP nominalisation. As such this kind of nominalisation will not come under simple morphological derivation and should be treated at the transformational level. It seems to me that this transformational treatment can be extended to other languages also like English. For example the noun murderer (murder+er) which can be treated as a nominalisation of the phrase "he who has murdered". However this has to be further worked out in detail.

This type of compounds, however, poses a problem regarding its identification with the NP of the matrix sentence. In this case something like an Agentive NP had to be set up in the matrix sentence. Consequently this has to be traced back to the embedded sentence also. Thus the embedded sentence will have an agentive NP as its subject.

Since the agentive NP of the matrix sentence has to be derived from the embedded sentence we posit only a dummy symbol- Δ . This has to be always an NP and not a single noun. When the derivation is made a transformational rule viz., Agentive NP copying rule has to be applied in order to rewrite the symbol with the agentive NP derived from the constituent sentence.

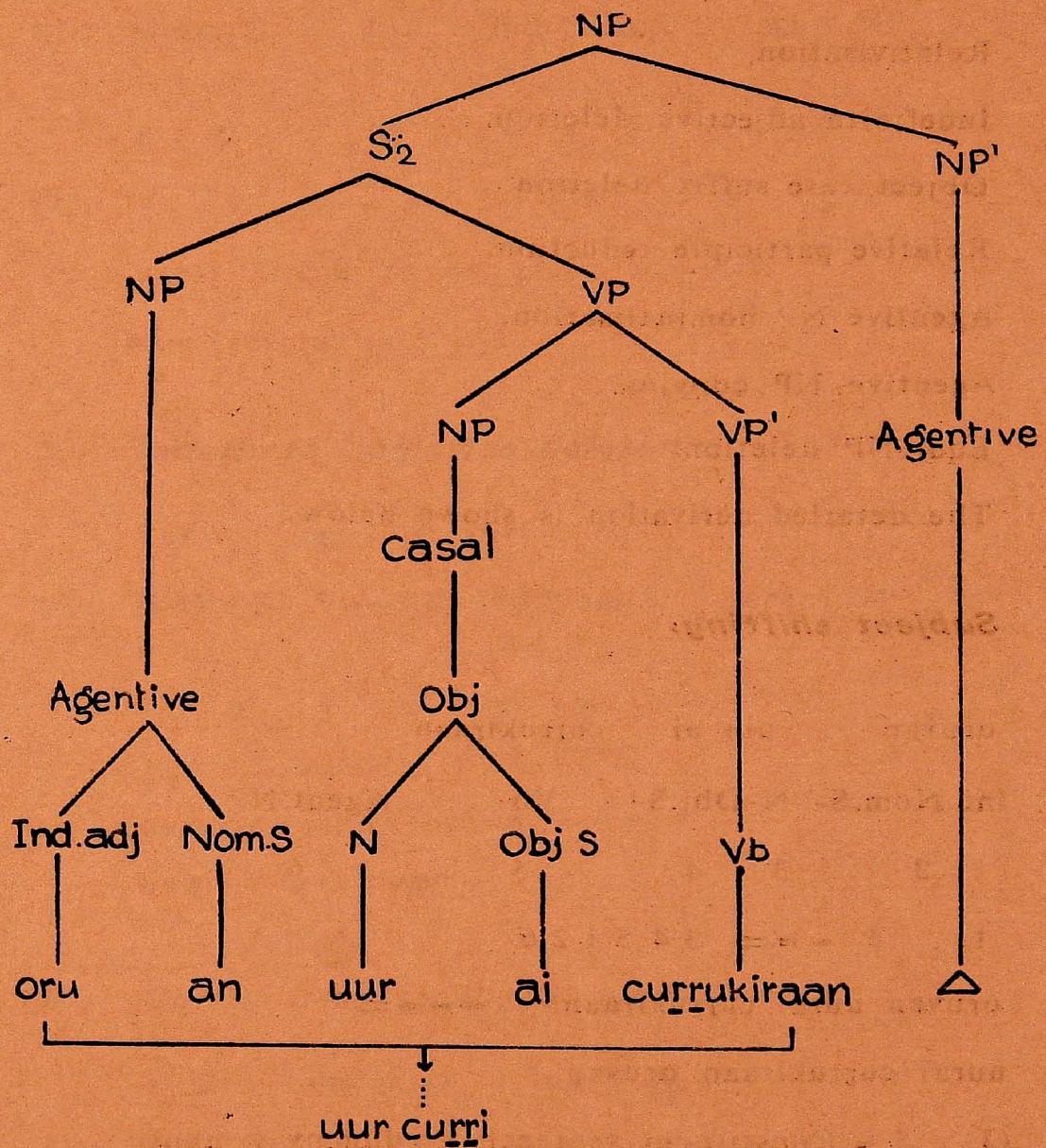
There is also another peculiarity in the nominalisation. Generally when the verb is nominalised the verb is first relativised and the pronoun is added to it. For example

currukigaan + avan \Rightarrow curruki + avan \Rightarrow currukiavan "he who wanders". But in the case of compounds with the anaphoric -i this is not followed. Instead of avan -an it takes -i. In the example uur curri, cuurukavan curri On the basis of the above facts we have to conclude that there are two types of nominalisations in Tamil viz., the general one taking the GNP suffix (G=gender; N=number; P=person) and an agentive one taking the suffix -i. Accordingly the latter is called Agentive NP nominalisation.

The derived nominal expresses always a habitual meaning. This has a bearing on the tense aspect of the source verb. For instance we cannot construct an agentive nominal when the tense of the source verb is past. we cannot have *curriya + i \Rightarrow curri. "He who has wandered". The verb of the source sentence has to be always in the non-past.

In the process of derivation these above mentioned facts have to be taken note of. Except for these idiosyncratic features all other details regarding the derivation of other types of compounds are applicable to these also.

Let us take the example 1. uur curri for demonstrating the derivation. The source for this is 1.a. The following tree diagram explains the structure of the constituent sentence and the NP of the matrix sentence. As already pointed out the symbol denoting the agentive NP has to be copied at the end of the derivation of the constituent sentence.



The following transformational rules are applied.

1. Subject shifting.
2. Relativisation.
3. Indefinite adjective deletion.
4. Object case suffix deletion.
5. Relative participle reduction.
6. Agentive NP nominalisation.
7. Agentive NP copying.
8. Equi-NP deletion.

The detailed derivation is shown below.

1. *Subject shifting:*

oruvan uur ai curukiraan

SD: Ind.Nom.S- N-Obj.S- Vb- Agent.NP

1 2 3 4 5 6

SCs: 1. . . . 6 - - -> 3 4 5 1 2 6

oruvan uurai curukiraan - - - ->

uurai curukiraan oruvan

(1. . . . 5 = Constituent sentence; 6 = dummy symbol

denoting agentive NP of the matrix sentence)

2. *Relativisation:*

uurai curruki_{ga}an oru an
 SD: N-Obj.S- Vb- Ind-Nom.S- agent.NP
 adj. 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1...6 ==> 1 2 3 + RP 4 5 6

uurai currukir_{an} oru an ==>
 uurai curruki_{ga} oru an

3. *Indefinite adjective deletion.*

uurai curruki_{ga} oru an
 SD: N-Obj.S- Vb+RP- Ind.Nom.S agent.NP
 adj. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1...7 ==> 1 2 3 4 6 7

uurai curruki_{ga} oru an ==>
 uurai curruki_{ga} an

4. *Object case suffix deletion.*

uurai curruki_{ga} an
 SD: N-Obj.S Vb+RP Nom.S agent.NP
 1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1...6 ==> 1 3 4 5 6

uurai curruki_{ga} an ==>
 uur curruki_{ga} an

5. *Relative participle reduction*

uur currukira an

SD: N- Vb+RP Nom.S agent NP

1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1...5 ==> 1 2 4 5

uur currukira an ==>

uur curru an

6. *Agentive NP nominalisation*

uur curru an

SD: N- Vb Nom.S- agent NP

1 2 3 4

SC: 1...4 ==> 1 2 3 + Agent.Suffix 4

uur curru an ==>

uur curru i

(an + agentive suffix -i ==> -i morphophonemically)

7. *Agentive NP copying*

uur curru i

SD: N- Vb- agent suffix agent. NP

1 2 3 4

SC: 1...4 ==> 1 2 3 1 2 3

uur curru i ==>

uur curru i uur curru i

8. *Equi NP deletion:*uur caṛṛu i uur curru iSD: N- Vb- Ag.Suffix N- Vb- Ag Suifix
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1. . . . 6 ==> 1 2 3

uur currui uur currui ==>
uur curruiuur curru + i will become as uur curri after morpho-
phonemic changes.

Similarly

minukku + i ==> minukki

taanku + i ==> taanki

2.7.2. (b) *Locative + Verb + (Subject)-i*

There is a subject of compounds like sub set (a) which show a relationship of Locative + Verb + (Subject)-i. The following compounds show such relationship.

1. teru-p-porukki "One who gathers or picks up in the street"
2. raa-p paaṭi "One who sings in the night"
 "night-singer"

The first member denotes the location where someone (denoted by the agentive -i) does (denoted by the verb i.e. the second member) something. The source sentences for the above will be

1.a. oruvan ṭeru-v-il porukkukiraan
 "Someone picks up in the street"

2.a. oruvan iravil paṭukiraan
 "Someone sings in the night"

Since the derivation is like the same as given in (a) it is not repeated here. So also for the following types.

2.7 2. (c) *Object + Verb + (Instrumental) -i*

There are a subject of compounds which show the above relationship. The only difference is the suffix -i which is added to the verb is representing the instrumental rather than the subject. Consider the following examples.

1. maṇ vetti "that which cuts earth" / "spade"
2. muṭ vaṅki "that which pulls out thorn" / "thorn remover"
3. kocu viraṭti "that which expels the mosquito" / "mosquito repellent"
4. puucci kolli "that which kills the insect" / insecticide
5. ṭoocai ṭiruppi "that which turns doosai" (an edible)

The source sentences for the above examples are as follows:

1.a. oruvan oru karuviyaal maṇnai vettukiraan
 "Someone cuts the earth with an instrument"

2.a. oruvan oru karuviyaal muṭṭai vaṇṇukukiraañ
 "Someone pulls out the thorn with an instrument"

3.a. oruvan oru maruṇṭaal kocuvai viraṭṭukiraañ
 "Someone drives away the mosquito with a medicine"

4.a. oruvan oru maruṇṭaal puucciyai-k-kollukiraañ
 "Someone kills the insect with a medicine"

5.a. oruṭṭi oru karuvi / karuṇṭi-y-aal ṭoocai-y-ai-t-
 tiruppukiraañ
 "Someone (a woman) turns the doosai with a spoon"

It will be seen that in all these sentences an indefinite adjective is added before the words denoting instruments. It should be pointed out here also that all the source verbs are present in the surface structures i.e. in the compounds as second members. In the derivational process the instrumentals are shifted to the end of the sentence and added after the verb. For example sentence 1.a.

oruvan oru karuvi-y-aal maṇṇai veṭṭukiraañ ==>

oruvan maṇṇai veṭṭukiraañ oru karuvi-y-aal.

Later oruvan mannai veṭṭukiraañ oru karuvi-y-aal ==>

maṇṇai veṭṭukiraañ oru karuvi-y-aal ==>

maṇṇai veṭṭukiraañ karuvi-y-aal ==>

maṇṇai veṭṭukiraañ karuvi-y-aal ==>

maṇṇai veṭṭukiraañ karuvi ==>

maṇṇai veṭṭukiraañ karuui ==>

maṇṇai veṭṭukiraañ + i ==>

maṇṇai veṭṭi

Since the derivational process is same as that of (a) it has not been repeated here.

2.8. Co-ordinate Compounds

Coordinate compounds consisting of two nominals are alone taken up here. There are many complexities regarding the organisation of the constituents. First of all both the constituents result from two different source sentences. Since a grouping is made in this type of compounds they always occur in plural except non-humans where the plural marker is optionally omitted in certain compounds. Thus, for the former we have

1. Kapila Parañar "Kapilar and Parañar"
2. aŋŋantāñkai { maar } "Brother and sister"
 { yar }
3. taay takappan maar "Mother and father"

and for the letter

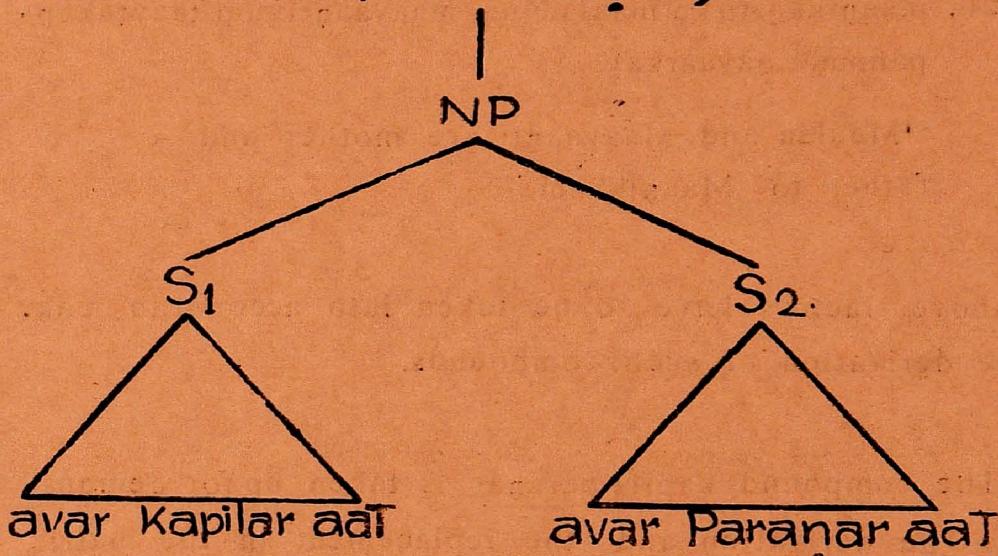
4. cētikoṭika] "plant and creeper"
5. pulpuuṇṭuka] "grass and root"
6. tuṇi maṇika] "cloth and ornament"
7. iṭṭili caampaar "Idli and sāmbār"

The last item is without the plural marker.

Secondly since the compound resulting from the embedded sentence is going to replace the NP of the matrix sentence the NP of the matrix sentence has to be set up with plural marker, for, the compound of the coordination type is always occurring with the plural marker.

Thirdly the deep structure of this type of compounds have to be derived from two underlying sentences.

(Kapila Parañar)



(aaT is the source Verb with Tense)

Fourthly a number of transformational rules are required for the derivation, in that this differs from all other types of compounds we have discussed so far.

Further, compounds which express the kinship relation function differently also. For example the direct relationship found between individuals are expressed as such by the constituents themselves in compounds like 2a. aṇṇantaṅkaimaar. The expansion of this into 2b. Kaṇṇanum Kalyaṇiyum aṇṇantaṅkaimaar aavaarkal "Kannan and Kalyani are brother and sister" reveals clearly this relationship. But 3. taay-takappanmaar when expanded into 3a. "Maalaavum maayaanṭi-

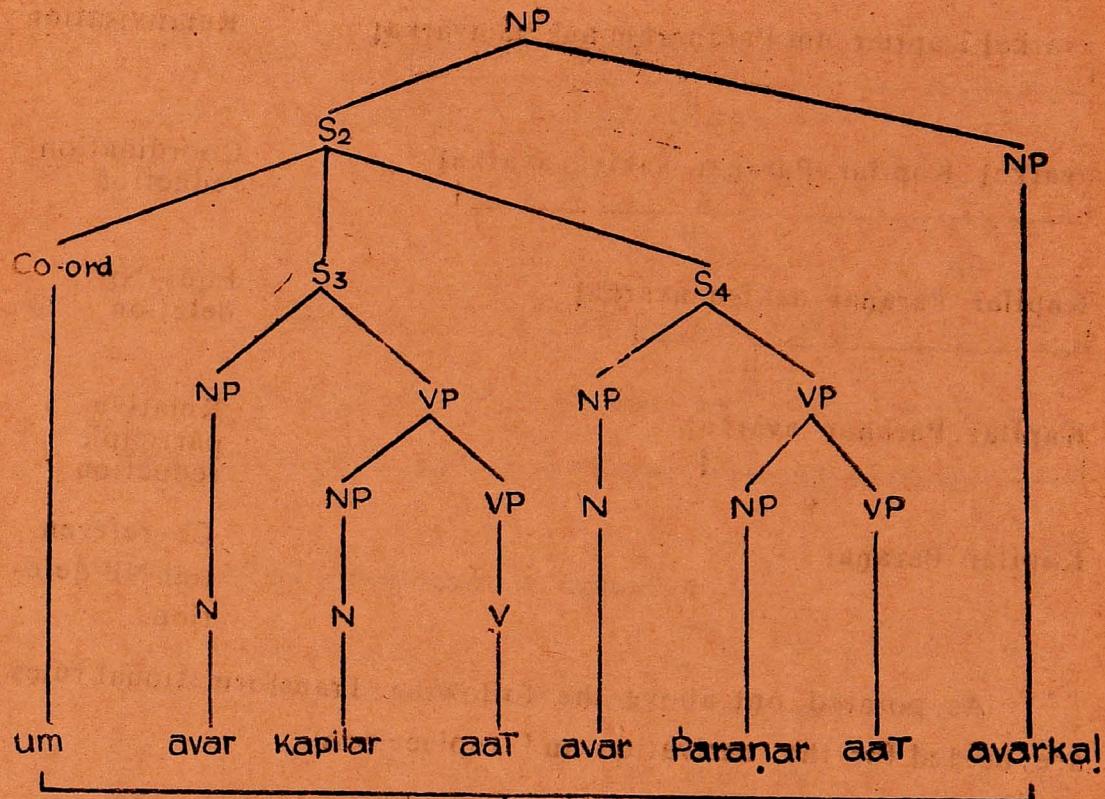
yum taaytakappanmaar aavaarka] does not so reveal the direct relationship. In fact 3a needs another word denoting a person who is in relation with maala and mayaṇṭi. Suppose we introduce this word denoting a person we get

2b. maṇikkattirku maalaavum maayaṇṭiyum taaytakappanmaar aavaarka]

“Maala and Maayaṇṭi are mother and father to Maṇikkam.”

The above factors have to be taken into account in making the derivation of such compounds.

The compound kapila paraṇar is taken up for demonstration. The derivation and the replacement in the matrix sentence are explained below. we begin with the tree diagram showing the base phrase marker of the source sentences



um avar Kapilar aat avar Paranar aat aat avarka]

Copulative
Predicate
copying

um avar Kapilar avar Paranar aat avarka]

Identical
constituents
deletion

um avar-um Kapilar-um avar-um paranar um aat avarka] - Coordinator

copying

um avarum avar-um Kapilar-um Paranar-um aat avarka] Subject

shifting

um avarka] Kapilar-um Paranar-um aat avarka]

Conjunctive
Pro-nomina-
lisation

avarka] Kapilar-um Paranar-um aat avarka]

Left-most
coordinator
deletion

avarkal Kapilar-um Parañparum aakiya avarkal

Relativisation

avarkal Kapilar Parañpar aakiya avarkal

Coordination
reduction

Kapilar Parañpar aakiya avarkal

Equi-Np
deletion

Kapilar Parañpar avarkal

Relative
participle
reduction

Kapilar Parañpar

Co-referen-
tial NP dele-
tion

As pointed out above the following Transformational rules are needed for the derivation and replacement.

1. Copulative predicate copying
2. Identical constituents deletion
3. Coordinator copying
4. Subject shifting
5. Conjuctive copying
6. Left-most coordinator deletion.
7. Relativisation
8. Coordination reduction
9. Equi-NP deletion.
10. Relative participle reduction.
11. Coreferential NP deletion.

1. *Copulative predicate copying.*

um avar kapilar aaT avar Parañar aaT avarkaʃ
 SD: Coor- N- N- Vb- N- N- Vb- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
 SC: 1...8 = = = ⇒ 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 + Co. P 8

um avar kapilar aaT avar Parañar aaT avarkaʃ = = = ⇒
 um avar Kapilar aaT avar Parañar aaT aaT avarkaʃ.

2. *Identical constituents deletion*

um avar Kapilar aaT avar Parañar aaT aaT avarkaʃ
 SD: Co- N- N- Vb- N- N- Vb- Vb- N
 or
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 SC: 1...9 = = = ⇒ 1 2 3 5 6 8 9

um avar Kapilar aaT avar Parañar aaT aaT avarkaʃ = = ⇒
 um avar Kapilar avar Parañar aaT avarkaʃ

3. *Coordinator copying*

um avar Kapilar avar Parañar aaT avarkaʃ
 SD: Co- N- N- N- N- Vb- N
 or
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 SC: 1...7 = = = ⇒ 1 2 + coor. 3 + coor 4 + coor
 5 + coor 6 7

um avar Kapilar avar paraṇar aaT avarka]

um avarum Kapilarum avarum avaraṇum aaT avarka]

4. **Subject shifting**

um avarum Kapilarum avarum Paraṇarum aaT avarka]

SD: co- N+coor- N+coor N+coor- N+coor- Vb- N
or

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

SC: 1 . . . 11 = = = ⇒ 1 2 3 6 7 4 5 8 9 10 11

um avarum Kapilarum avarum Paraṇarum aaT
avarka] = = = ⇒

um avarum avarum Kapilarum Paraṇarum aaT avarka]

5. **Conjunctive pronominalisation**

(Though the pronoun itself stands for some other noun here these pronouns have to be treated as co-referents and combined into, again, a pronoun. A theoretical revision is suggested here. But much more detailed analysis is necessary to demonstrate this more clearly. Since this study falls outside the scope of the present discussion it is not dealt with here in detail except to suggest).

um avarum avarum Kapilarum Paraṇarum aaT avarka]

SD: coor N+coor- N+coor- N+coor- N+coor- Vb- N

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

SC: 1 . . . 11 = = = ⇒ 1 2 3 + 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

um avarum avarum Kapilarum Paraparum aaT avarkal

====>

um avarkal Kapilarum Paraparum aaT avarkal

6. *Left-most coordinator deletion*

um avarkal Kapilarum Paraparum aaT avarkal

SD: coor- N- N+coor- N+coor- Vb- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

SC: 1...8 ==> 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

um avarkal Kapilarum Paraparum aaT avarkal ==>
 avarkal Kapilarum Paraparum aaT avarkal

7. *Relativisation:*

avarkal Kapilarum Paraparum aaT avarkal

SD: N- N+coor- N+coor- Vb- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

SC: 1...7 ==> 1 2 3 4 5 6 + RP 7

avarkal Kapilarum Paraparum aaT avarkal ==>
 avarkal Kapijarum Paraparum aakiya avarkal

8. *Coordination reduction.*

avarkal Kapilarum Paraparum aakiya avarkal

SD: N- N+coor- N+coor- Vb+RP- N
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

SC: 1. . . . 8 \Rightarrow 1 2 4 6 7 8

avarkaʃ Kapilar um Paraŋarum aakiya avarkaʃ \Rightarrow

avarkaʃ Kapilar Paraŋar aakiya avarkaʃ

9. Equi-NP deletion:

avarkaʃ Kapilar Paraŋar aakiya avarkaʃ

SD: N- N- N- Vb+RP- N
1 2 3 4 5 6

SC: 1. . . . 6 \Rightarrow 2 3 4 5 6

avarkaʃ Kapilar Paraŋar aakiya avarkaʃ \Rightarrow

Kapilar Paraŋar aakiya avarkaʃ

10: Relative participle reduction:

Kapilar Paraŋar aakiya avarkaʃ

SD: N- N- Vb+RP- N
1 2 3 4 5

SC: 1. . . . 5 \Rightarrow 1 2 5

Kapilar Paraŋar aakiya avarkaʃ \Rightarrow

Kapilar Paraŋar avarkaʃ

11. Coreferential NP deletion.

Kapilar Paraŋar avarkaʃ

SD: N- N- N
1 2 3 4

SC: 1...3 \Rightarrow 1 2

Kapilar Parāṇar avarkal \Rightarrow

Kapilar Parāṇar

The relevant morphophonemic rule will be applied and the final form is got.

Kapilar + Parāṇar \Rightarrow Kapila Parāṇar

2.9. *Figurative Nominal compounds*

In a language like Tamil which has got a recorded history of more than two thousand years and which has got a wealth of literature the collection and classification of the figurative nominal compounds becomes practically impossible for a single person. However an attempt has been made to collect those compounds of this type which have been given in the Tamil lexicon. Hence this should be treated only as representative rather than exhaustive. Traditional Tamil grammarians have taken note of these compounds and have made some observations. For example Tolkaṇṇiyar the earliest Tamil grammarian (2nd or 3rd century B.C.) has identified that these compounds involve a construction involving comparison and has identified four types of comparison viz (1) the comparison between shapes (2) the comparison between the colours (3) the comparison between actions and (4) the comparison involving all other similarities which is referred to by a generic name payan "result, use etc.,." These could be roughly explained as the semantic "atoms" that are activated in the lexical senses of the constituents of the compounds. The other semantic atoms which are not activated are suppressed in the realisation of the compounds. But it is possible to

trace other types of comparisons as shown elsewhere in this chapter. The observations made by this grammarian as well as other authors and commentators are thus useful for our analysis. The figurative compounds which contain two members are alone considered here. A plethora of compounds involving more than two members are also available. One among the two constituents may be used in a figurative sense. It may be explained as follows:-

(1) Thing comparable + Thing compared

or (2) Thing compared + Thing comparable

In type (1) we notice the first member of the compound is used figuratively. In (2) the second member is used figuratively. Under type (1) we have subjects involving specific types of comparison as that of between shape, colour etc. Representative examples are given below in a tabular form. In the first column the compounds are given; in the second column the meanings are given- both literally and idiomatically; in the third column the similarities on which basis the comparisons are made are given. In other words only these semantic "atoms" are activated in the lexical sense of both the constituents.

Type 1**Set A. Based on the similarity between shapes.**

Compounds	Meaning	Similarity or activated semantic atoms.
1. Valai-p-paniyan	"net-shaped banian" lit. "the inner garment (banian) which looks like a net"	the shape of knitting
2. qilaamukam	"face like the moon"	Roundness
3. tuti-yitai	"waist like a kettle-drum"	shape) (
4. vir puruyam	"eye-brow like a bow"	curvature
5. vicigi vaalai	"leaves of a banana tree like a palmyra fan"	semicircle
6. agar kuuntal	"curly hair like the sand dunes in the river bed"	the layers-curlings

Here too we have to make a sub-classification because in the above compounds the comparison is made between the "whole" things and not between the parts as is found in the following examples. Even though the word used represents the whole only a part of the whole is compared.

7. <i>kaļutai-k-kaal</i>	“legs like the sagging criss crossed legs of a donkey”	criss-crossed, saggy shape
8. <i>pangi mukam</i>	“the face like the face of a pig”	conical projection
9. <i>kuraņku mukam</i>	“the face like the face of a monkey”	”
10. <i>aantai-k-kaņ</i>	“the eye like that of an owl”	largeness
11. <i>kiļi mukku</i>	“the nose like that of a parrot”	curvature

Set B. Based on the similarity between colours.

1. <i>pavaļa uļaļu</i>	“lips like coral”	redness
2 <i>paal mukam</i>	“face like milk”	whiteness (whiteness is identified with beauty)

There are examples which point out to a comparison between the parts.

3. <i>tajirmeeni</i>	“body like the colour of the tender leaf” (of a mango)	tan colour
4. <i>mallai-e-cirippu</i>	“laugh (lit. the teeth) like the jasmine flower	whiteness

Set C. Based on the similarity between actions.

1. puli-p-paayccal “the leap like that of a tiger” **swiftness**
2. karaṭi-p-piṭi “the hold like that of a bear” **firmness**
3. uṭumpu-p-piṭi “the hold like that of a wild lizard” “
4. anna naṭai “the gait like that of a swan” **gait**

Set D. Based on the similarities other than the above three

1. carkarai-p-peecu “speech like sugar” **sweetness**
2. kal ɳeñcu “heart like a stone” **(sweet-good)**
hard-ness
3. amuṭa moḷi “speech like ambrosia/ nectar” **sweetness**
(rejuvenation)

There are, further, examples which show more than one similarity amongst the members of the compound. They are given below.

Set E. Based on more than one similarity

1. kuvaṭai-k-kaṇ “eye like a kuvaṭai flower” **shape and colour**
2. varai-t-tool “shoulder like the bamboo” **shape and quality**
(coolness)

3. mu^ñkil ka^ñl^ñtu "neck like the bamboo" shape and quality
(coolness)

4. arici-p-pal "teeth like rice" shape, colour and
sharpness

Coming to type II we have the following examples. Here the second member which is generally used as the "thing compared" is now in turn used as the thing comparable. As such they become metaphors. The classification like the above set is not attempted for want of space.

1. muka ma^ñiyam "The face like the moon"
2. collamu^ñam "The words like the ambrosia"
3. peeccu ma^ñai "The speech like the rain"
4. va^ñkkai-c-cakkaram "The life like the wheel"

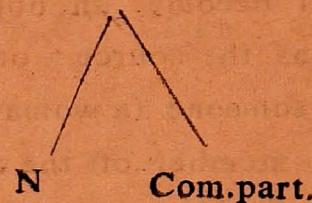
Type I derivation:

Coming to the syntactic structure of these compounds, as already pointed out, a construction involving comparison has to be set up. In order to identify the similarity between the constituents particles of comparison like poola, poongra, ma^ñiri "as" or "like" have to be posited to the deep structure. Let us take an example from Set A for demonstration. For the compound A.4. virupuvam we could posit the following as the source sentence with the comparative particle "poola"

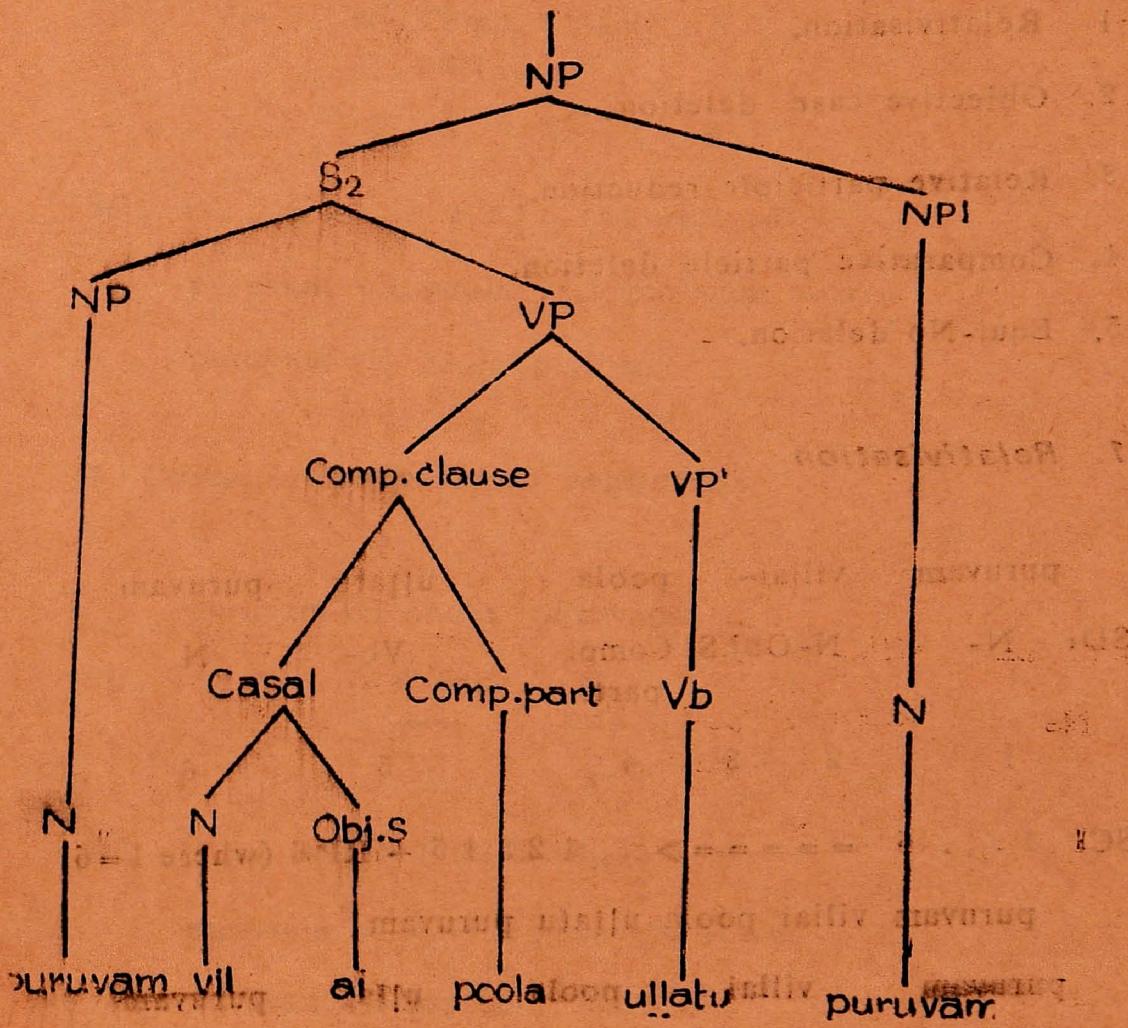
A.4. 1. puruvam villai-p-poolu u^ñatu
"The eyebrow is like the bow".

The deep structure for this sentence will be :

N(Subject) + com. clause + verb



The derivation of this compounds is explained below in the usual manner.



It will be seen from the above diagram that the second member of the compound functions as the subject of the source sentence. (This will become an object when the following sentence is taken as the source : orutti villai-p-poola puruvattai uṭaiyaal, "someone (a woman/girl) has an eyebrow like a bow"). The first member of the compound functions as an object. Though we find here a relationship like subject + object discussed elsewhere this cannot be treated as such because of the involvement of comparison.

The derivation is explained further below. The following transformational rules are applied.

1. Relativisation.
2. Objective case deletion.
3. Relative participle reduction.
4. Comparative particle deletion.
5. Equi-Np⁷deletion.

1. *Relativisation.*

puruvam	villai-	poola	uṭṭatu	puruvam	
SDs	N-	N-Obj.S	Comp. part.	Vb-	N
1	2	3	4	5	6
SCs	1 . . . 6	= = = = >	1 2 3 4 5	+	RP 6 (where 1 = 6)
	puruvam	villai	poola	uṭṭatu	puruvam
	puruvam	villai	poola	uṭṭa	puruvam

4. Object case deletion

SD:	N-	N-Obj.S.	Comp	Vb+Rp	N		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
SC:	1 . . . 7	= = =	1 2 4 5 6 7 (where 1 = 7)				

puruvam villai poola ulla puruvam = = =

puruvam vil poola ulla puruvam

3. Relative participle deletion

puruvam vil poola ulla puruvam

SD:	N-	N- Comp.	Vb+RP	N		
	1	2	3	4	5	6
part.						

SC:	1 . . . 6	= = =	1 2 3 6 (where 1 = 6)
-----	-----------	-------	-----------------------

puruvam vil poola ulla puruvam = = =

puruvam vil poola puruvam

4. Comparative particle reduction

puruvam vil poola puruvam

SD:	N-	N-	Comp.	N
	1	2	3	4

SC:	1 . . . 4	= = =	1 2 3 4 (where 1 = 4)
-----	-----------	-------	-----------------------

puruvam vil poola puruvam = = =

puruvam vil purvam

5. *Equi-NP deletion*

puruvam vil puruvam

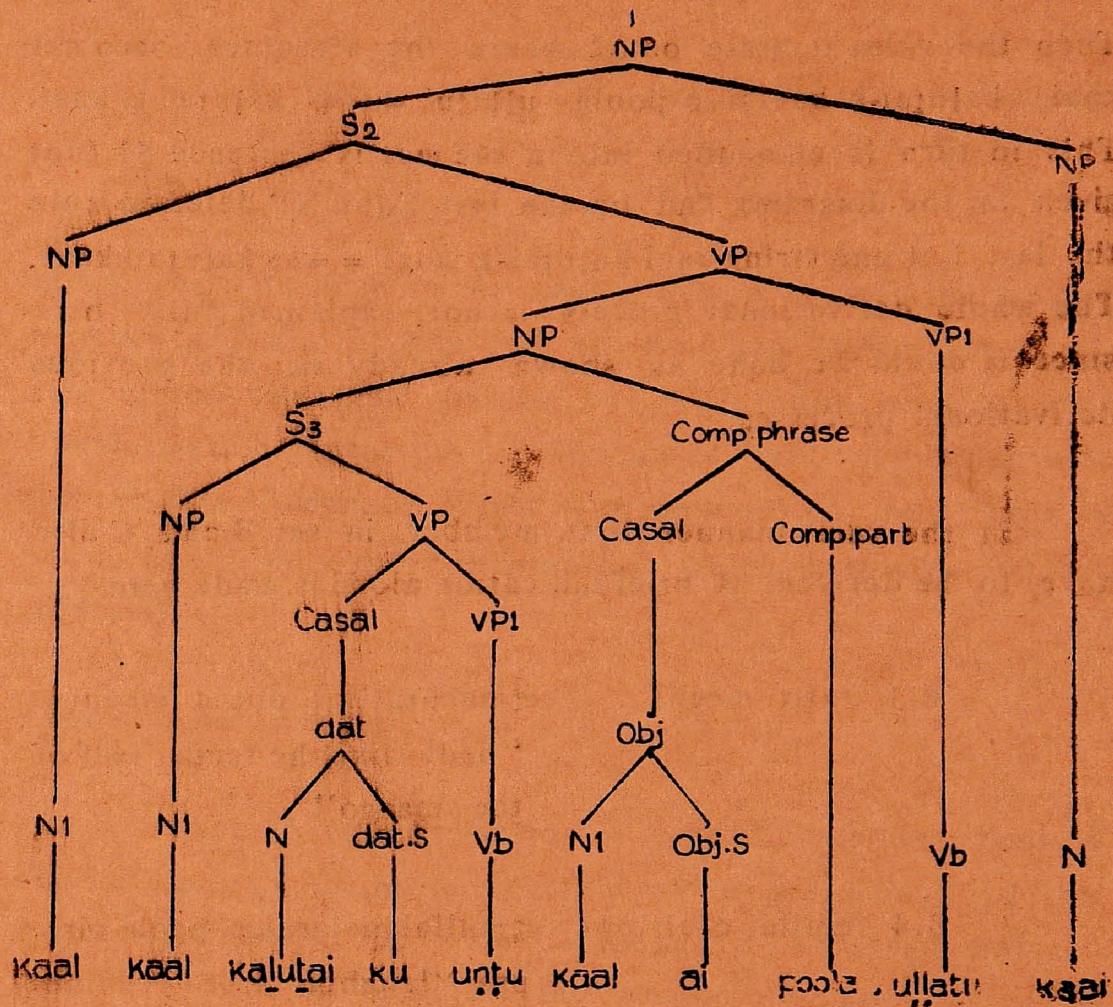
SD: N- N- N
 1 2 3

SC: 1...3 \Rightarrow 2 3

puruvam vil puruvam \Rightarrow
 vil puruvam

Similarly when we extend this kind of derivation to compounds 7,8,9, etc., under Set A we meet with some problems. For example the compound 7. kaļutai-k-kaal when expanded will give the following unacceptable structure "kaal kaļutaiyai-p-poola uļļaṭu" "The leg is like the donkey."

What is compared here is only the leg of the donkey and not donkey. In other words, as pointed out already, the comparison is between only a part of the whole. In the derivational process this has to be taken note of. Accordingly we have to set up different deeper layers. The source sentence for this type of compounds will be: kaal kaļutai-k-kaalai-p-poola uļļaṭu, "the legs are like the legs of a donkey." Again kaļutai-k-kaal, in turn, is itself a compound which has to be traced from another deep structure. The following diagram will explain this clearly.



A series of transformational rules are necessary here. First the rules are operated on S3. After the application of such transformational rules we get an intermediary stage structure like the following.

kaal kaļuṭai-k-ku uṇṭu ==> kaļtaiyinutaiya kaal which in turn becomes kaļuṭai-k-kaal.

Then the rules operate on S2 where the structure becomes kaal kaļuṭai-k-kaalai-p-poola uļļaṭu ==> kaļuṭai k-kaal. This in turn is embedded into in the matrix sentence S1 (not given in the diagram) and by the last Equi-NP deletion rule the last but one string kaal kaļuṭai-k-kaal ==> kaļuṭaikkaal. The whole derivational process is not explained fully here since it could be done as shown already in the previous derivational processes.

In the same manner first member in set B and C also have to be derived. A brief indication alone is made here.

B.3 taļir meeni <maaṇṭaļirai poola meeni
“body like the tender leaf of the mango”

B.4 mullai-c-cirippu <mullai malarai-p-poola ciri-
ppu “laughter like jas nine flowers”.

Set C. 1 puli-p-paayccal <puli-p-paayccalai -p-poola-
p-paayccal
“the leap like that of a tiger”

2. karaṭi-p-piṭi <karaṭi-p-piṭiyai-p-poola-p-
piṭi
“the hug like that of a bear”

3. **uṭumpu-p-Piṭi** > **uṭumpu-p-piṭiyai-p-poola-p-piṭi** "the hold like that of a Wild lizard

4. **anna naṭai** ➤ **anna naṭaiyai-p-Poola naṭai**
"the gait like that of a swan"

It will be seen that in the above examples in C the second member is used as a cognate object. So when these expressions are derived this fact has to be taken into account. All transformations involved in the case of the compounds with the relation of cognate object + cognate object verb have to be made here also. (see the chapters which deal with cognate objects)

Type II - derivation.

Coming to the derivation of type II compounds first of all we have to point out certain differences found in the syntactic behaviour of these compounds. As already pointed out, in these compounds the second member which is generally used as the "thing compared" is, in turn, used as the first member thus avoiding the involvement of comparative construction. Thus we do not have a particle of comparison as found in the previous type of sentences. For example maṭimukam (Type I) has the source sentence mukam maṭiyai-p-poola uṭṭaṭu. But if the second member is shifted to the first position instead of having a construction involving comparison we have equative type of relation between the constituents. Thus we have for the compound muka matiyam the following source sentence maṭiyam mukam aakum "The moon that is the face"

There are some more complications when we consider the compound vaalkkai-c-cakkaram, "life-wheel". Since both the words have figurative meanings the relationship between these constituents become metaphorical. An immediate and interesting question will be as to "what linguistic intuitions does a native speaker have about the metaphorical sense of vaalkkai-c-cakkaram that a transformational grammar must account for?" (Botha: 1968). If we take into consideration the meanings of the constituents individually we first member vaalkkai gives the meaning "life"; the second member cakkaram gives the meaning "wheel". Primarily we can say that these constituents show a relationship involving comparison. Thus we can have the following sentences suggesting different layers.

Stage I vaalkkai cakkattai-p-poola ullatu

"The life is like a wheel"

Stage II The "life" which is compared to the "wheel" is in turn used as the attribute to the word cakkaram thus giving no room for a construction involving comparison. Here we get, as in the previous example of mukamatiyan, an equative type of relation between the constituents.

So far only one layer of meaning has been considered. The native speaker of Tamil is not stopping here. He proceeds to associate other layers of meanings also. when the "life" is compared with "wheel" it suggests also the meaning of "something which is endless", "a cycle" "cycle of births"

etc., thus entering into the area of philosophy. It is not clear at present as to how to incorporate all these complexites into syntactic realisations which are simple. First of all it becomes obligatory that one should have an adequate "semantic theory which should account for the process of metaphorical invention- all the more so, a theory that stems from generative grammar with its emphasis on creativity" (Bolinger, 1965). As things stand at present this is yet to be done. However we can suggest that the above said compounds could be derived from equational type of source sentences. For example the compounds mukamatiyam and vaalkkai-c-cakkaram could be derived from the following source sentences respectively.

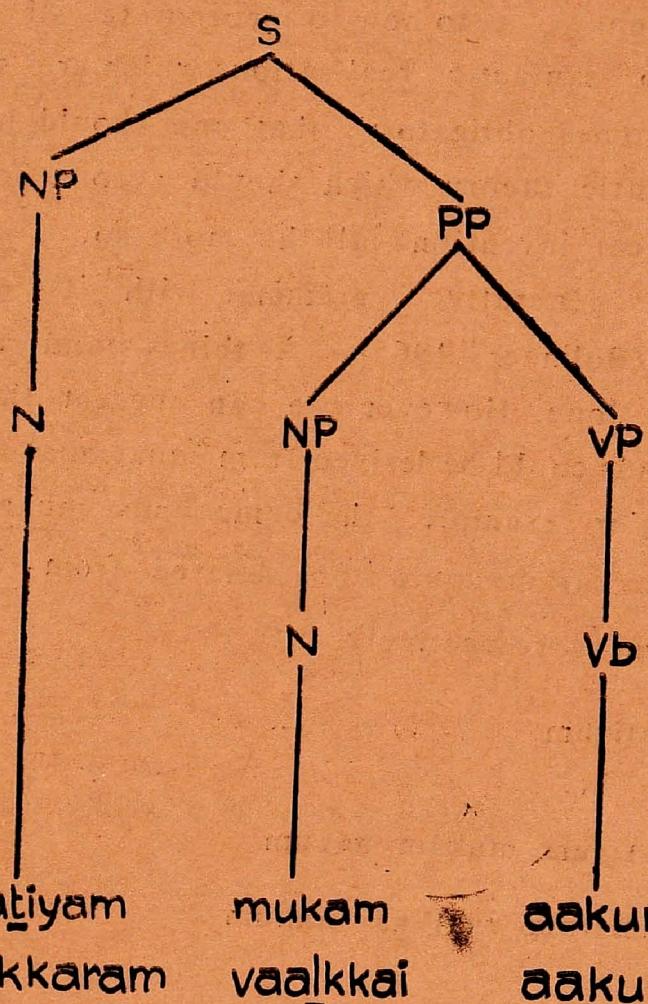
For mukamatiyam

1. matiyam mukam aakum
2. cakkaram vaalkkai aakum

The deep structure for these source sentences could be:

N(subject) + N(Predicate) + Copula Verb

The base phrase marker and the derivation is given below.



1. mukam aakiya matiyam \dashrightarrow muka matiyam

2. vaalkkai aakiya cakkaram \dashrightarrow vaalkkai-c-cakkaram

2.10. *Idiomatic nominal compounds.*

This chapter on "idiomatic nominal compounds is dealt with in three sections. The first section deals with the semantic differences found between the idiomatic nominal compounds and their non-idiomatic counterparts. The second section deals with the syntactic differences found between the idiomatic and the non-idiomatic compounds. At the end of the second section the difference between the figurative nominal compounds and the idiomatic nominal compounds is pointed out. The third section deals with the derivation of the idiomatic nominal compounds adopting transformational generative model. Only a sketchy attempt is being made. Much, more detailed analysis, based on the observations made here, has to be done. It has to be pointed out that only idiomatic compounds are taken up for discussion and not the "lexical idioms."

Section I

Semantic differences between idiomatic and non-idiomatic compounds

1. *iṭu muṇṭiri-k-koṭṭai* "This is a cashew-nut"
2. *ivan muṇṭiri-k-koṭṭai* "He is a cashewnut"

When these sentences are given to a native speaker of Tamil his immediate reaction will be the identification of the compound muṇṭiri-k-koṭṭai with the "object" cashew-nut in the former sentence and the identification of the compound with the "person who rushes to open his mouth on every occasion" in the latter. These identifications or semantic interpreta-

tions point out that the compound used in Sentence (2) has a reference different from that found in sentence (1). Because of this specialised reference the compound found in (2) is referred to as an idiom. So the compound found in (2) is explained as a nominal compound with an idiomaticised semantic fact. Another characteristic feature of an idiomatic compound is that its meaning cannot be derived from the meanings of its constituent members. In the compound muntiri-k kottai, muntiri means "the cashew fruit" and kottai means the "nut" and we do not find any connection between the meanings of the idiomaticised compound. This is partially true. The compound in other situations, i.e., in other frames we do find some similarity between the idiomatic and its non-idiomatic counterpart. For example see the sentence (3) avan muntiri-k-kottai maatiri peecukiraan. "He speaks like a cashew nut". It looks awkward because we know that the cashew nut will not speak. But here really one of the semantic "atoms" connected with the compound is activised and because of this motivation that this sentence is used as any other semantically non-anomalous sentence. The cashew nut is different from other nuts, because it is found attached at the top of the fruit like a projection. This characteristic feature, "the projection," "the coming in the front" is identified with the action of the person who rushes to the front to open his mouth. Specifically we can point out that the similarity lies in this "front-ness." The following sentence brings this fact much more clearly.

4. avan muṇṭiri-k-kottai maatiri munnee munnee peecukiraan.

"He speaks first like the cashew nut" (The translation itself becomes very difficult and it is given only roughly). Again (5) muntiri-k-kottai koopamaaka irukkigatu.

"The cashewnut is angry" is semantically anomalous whereas

(6) muntiri-k-kottai koopimaka irukkiran "The cashewnut (person) is angry" is semantically non-anomalous. This shows that the idiomatic compound contains a meaning "person" also in its composition. The anomaly in (5) is due to the fact that the feature (+person) is absent there. From the above observations it will be clear that

- (a) the compound in (2) has a reference which is different from that of the compound used in (1)
- (b) The idiomatic compound has a narrower reference than that of the non-idiomatic one.
- (c) The composition of the meanings of the constituents does not provide the idiomatic sense. A semantic "atom" which is associated with the meaning of the non-idiomatic compound is responsible for the idiomaticization.
- (d) though superficially we do not find any similarity between the idiomatic and non-idiomatic compounds at the meaning level we do find a similarity-a common feature found between the person and the cashewnut "the projection" or "the front-ness." We find here a "specialisation" of the lexical sense of the non-idiomatic compound. This "intuitive identification of similarity" has to be taken into account in making the derivation of the compound.

Section II

Syntactic differences between idiomatic and non-idiomatic compounds.

There are also marked syntactic differences between the idiomatic compound "muntiri-k-kottai" and its non-idiomatic correlate.

- (1) While the non-idiomatic compound takes a neuter verb the idiomatic one takes a verb with the feature (+Human). See sentences (1) and (2) Here the concordance or agreement between the subject and the predicate is the deciding factor.
- (2) Secondly whilst the non-idiomatic one is related to the question A. inta kottai enna kottai? "what kind of nut is this?" its idiomatic counterpart has no such interrogative correlate.
- (3) Thirdly the non-idiomatic compound is separable and traced to a source sentence. But in the case of idiomatic compound this is not possible. It functions as a well-knit unit.

In the light of the observations made in the above two sections we could say that the link between the idiomatic and the non-idiomatic one is done on the basis of the similarity of the activated semantic atom of the non-idiomatic compound with that of the idiom. However it is not claimed here that all the idiomatic compounds found in Tamil have this kind of semantic and syntactic differences. Until a much more detailed

analysis is done these observations should be considered only as pre-theoretical indications. In the following examples also we find such semantic and syntactic differences.

similarity

- (1) **Paccoonti** "chameleon" a person who often changes his affiliations. "Change"
- (2) **oṭṭaiccivinki** "giraffe" "a person who is tall or one who is having long" a long neck"
- (3) **kaṇmaṇi** "pupil of the eye" "a person who is as protected and dear as the eye" "protected dear".

Difference / similarity between figurative and idiomatic compounds:-

Coming to the differences found between the figurative compounds and the idiomatic ones we have to point out whilst in the figurative compounds the word which has the semantic atoms on which basis the similarity is identified does occur as one of the constituents of the compound at the surface level whereas in the idiomatic compound it does not. In the example maṭimukam and mukamaṭiyam the word maṭiyam which is the comparable thing does occur as a member of the compound. In the idiomatic compound muṇṭiri-kkoṭai this is not found. But it is intuitively understood.

However there is a similarity between these two types of compounds. After an analysis of the idiomatic compounds I found that it is possible to posit a comparative construction

like the one that is incorporated in the derivation of the figurative compounds. Botha (1968, p.216) however argues that the "comparative aspect of the these metaphorical compounds is not characteristic of the idiomatic ones." But, as it will be shown later in Section III there are reasons to posit such a construction.

Section III

In this section an attempt is made to drive the idiomatic compounds through the transformational generative model. The idiomatic compound nuṇṭiri k-koṭṭai is taken up here for demonstration. We have to set up at least four stages for the derivation taking into account of what we have observed already in sections I and II.

Stage I Here the deeper most embedded sentence is derived

Koṭṭai muṇṭirikku munnal irukkigatu

"The nut is in the front of cashew (fruit)"

Stage II. avan muṇṭiri-k-koṭṭai poola peccil munanal
irukkigavan

"Like that [cashewnut he speaks "first"]"

Stage III. At this stage the nominalisation takes place.

muṇṭiri-k-koṭṭai poola munnaal irukkigavan

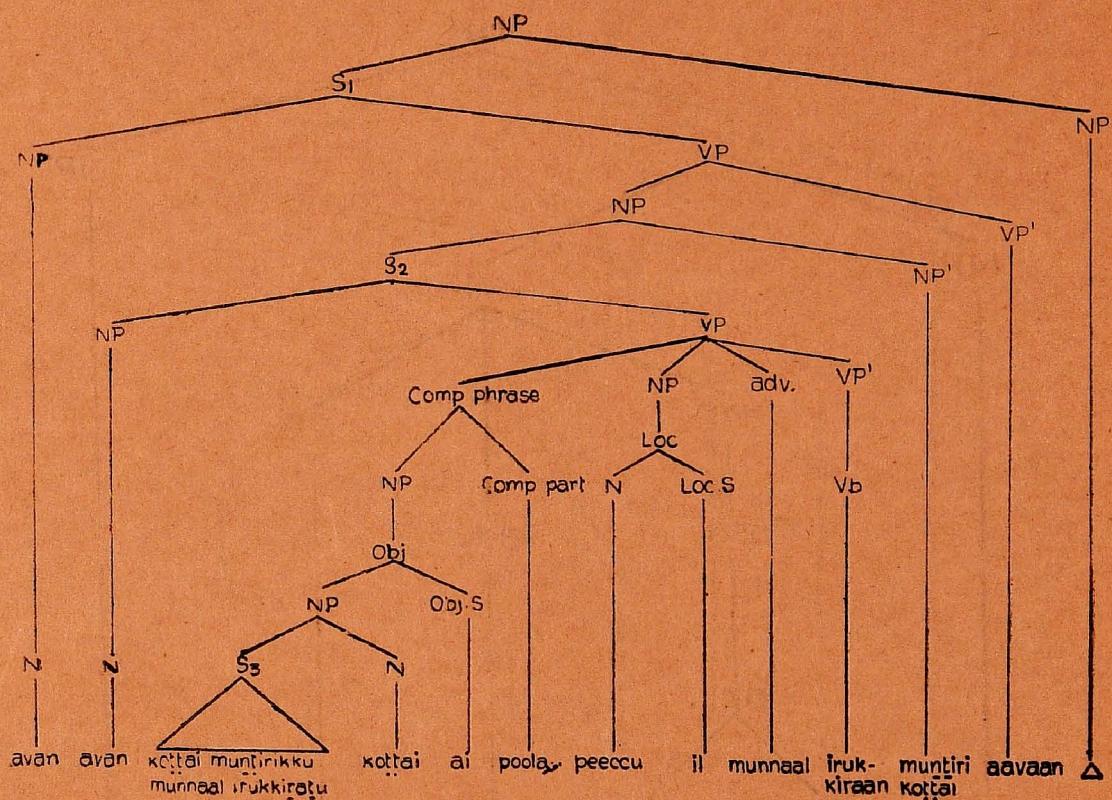
"He is "first" like the cashewnut."

Stage IV. muṇṭiri-k-koṭṭai poola peccil munnaal irukkigavan
muṇṭiri-k-koṭṭai aavaan

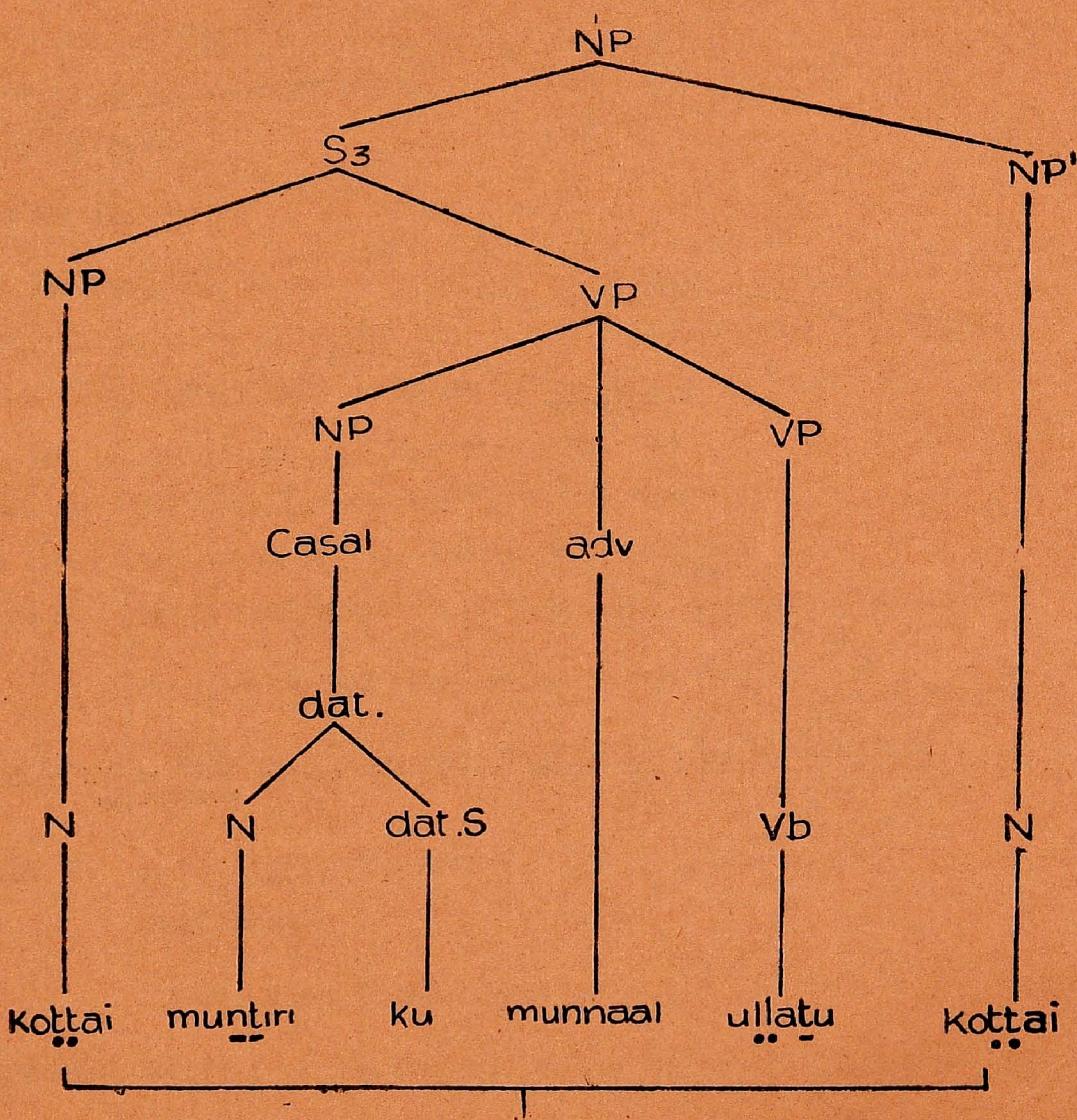
"The person who speaks like the cashewnut is a cashew-nut."

Here we have to set up an equative type of sentence to hook on the idiomatic meaning into the idiom.

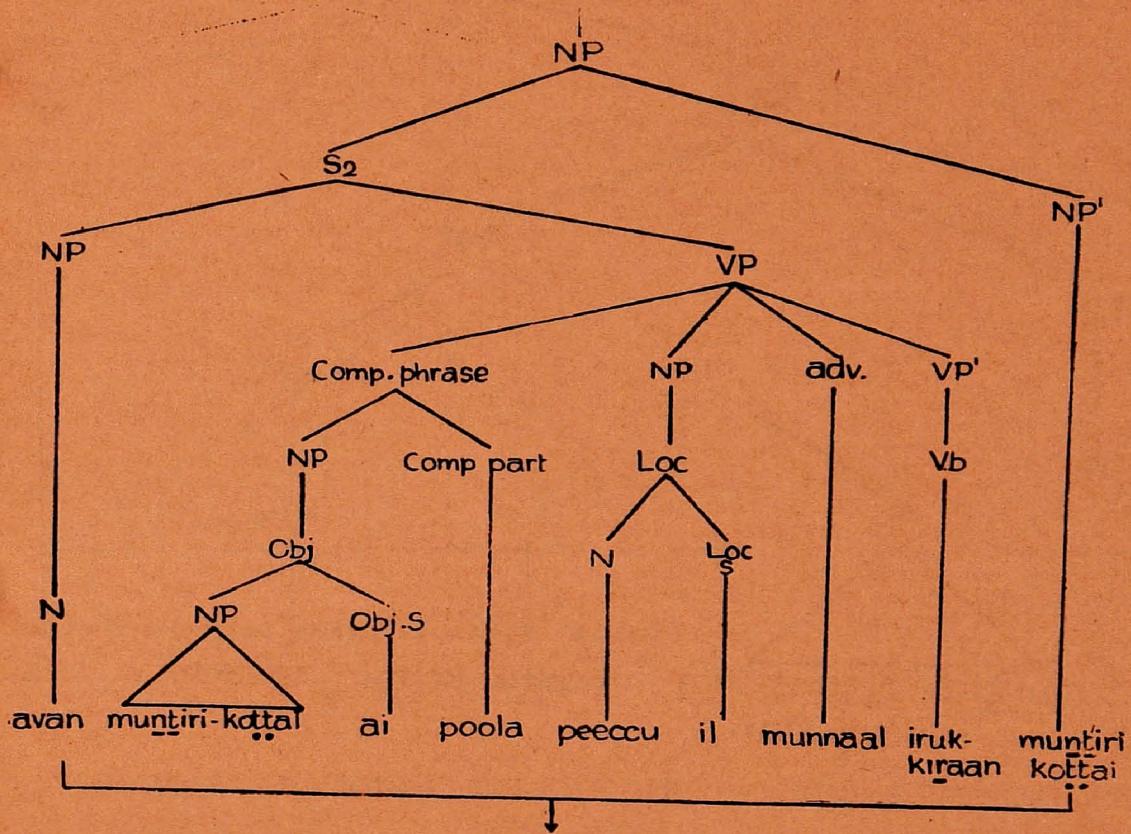
Tree diagram showing the underlying structure and the NP of the matrix sentence.



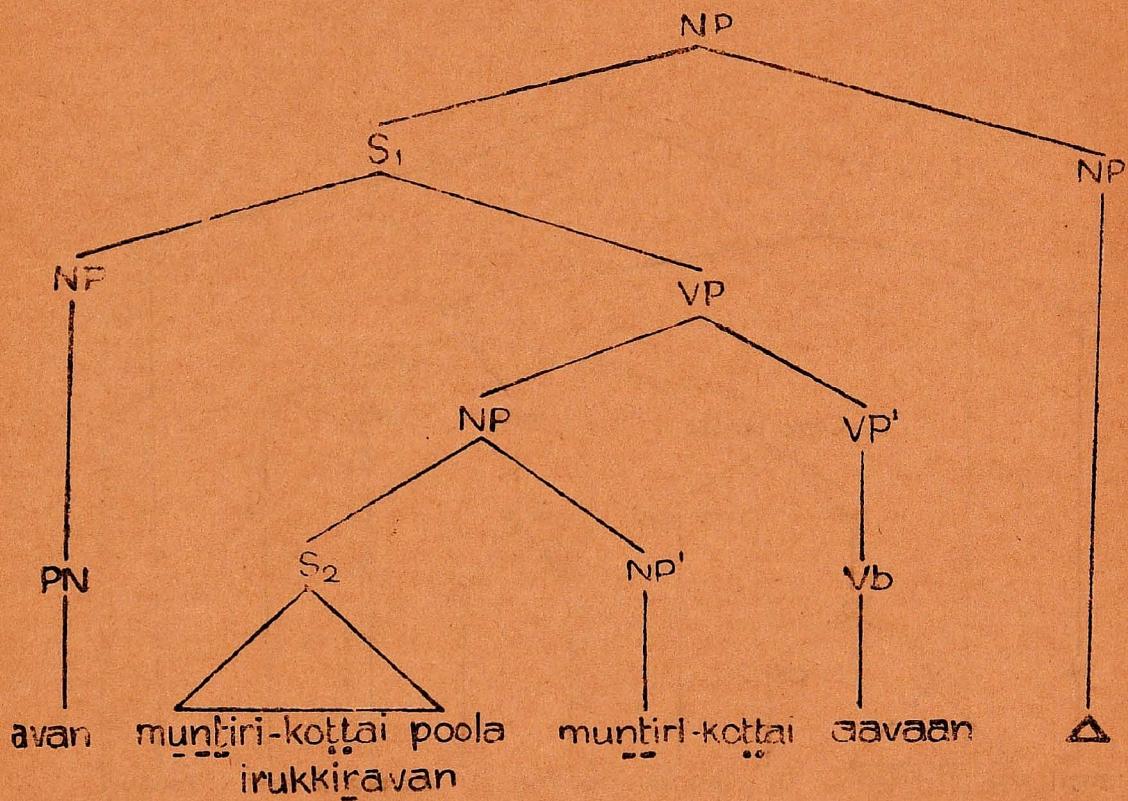
Stage 1



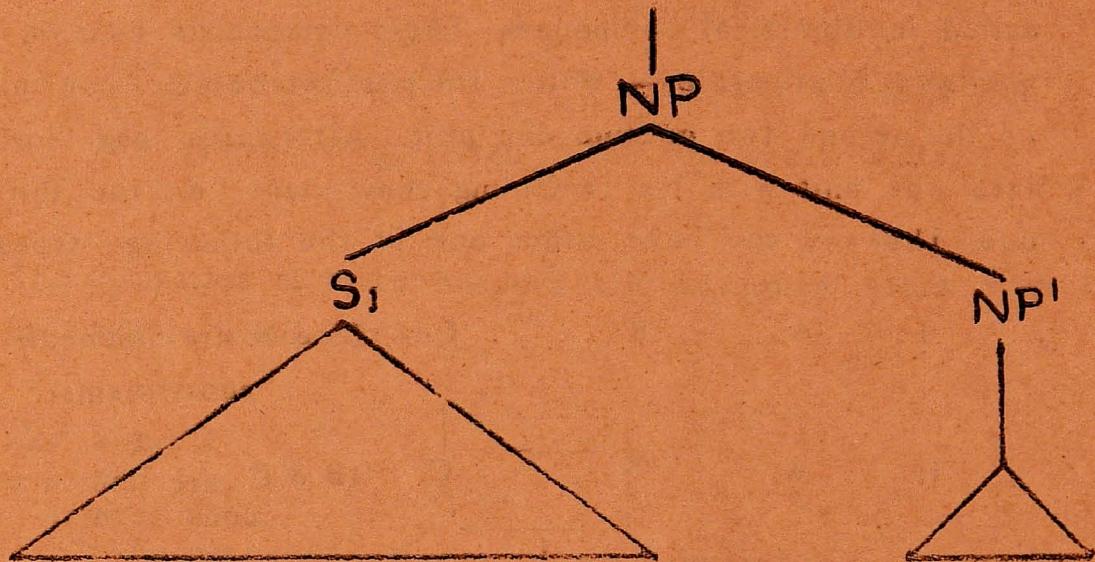
Stage II



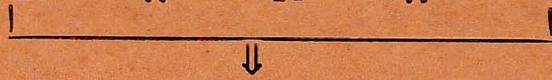
Stage III



Stage IV



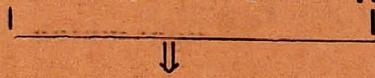
muŋtiri-koʈtai muŋtiri-koʈtai aavaan



muŋtiri-koʈtai aakiya muŋtirikoʈtai ... after Relativisation



muŋtirikoʈtai muŋtirikoʈtai ... " Rel. part deletion



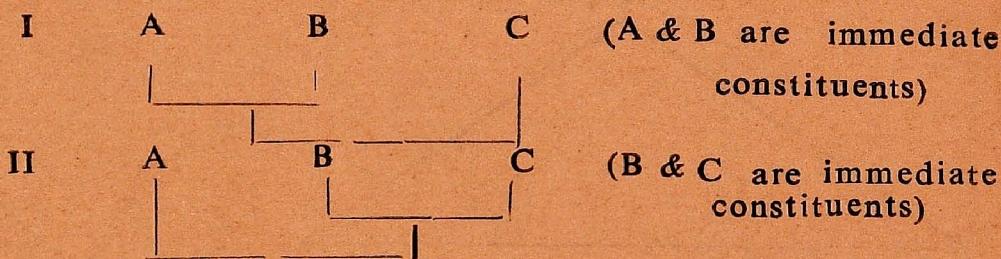
muŋtiri koʈtai

... " Equi-NP
deletion

The dummy symbol is substituted by the compound muŋtiri koʈtai in the matrix sentence. Finally the compound becomes as muŋtiri-k-koʈtai after morphophonemic changes.

2. 11. Multinomial Compounds.

Compounds involving more than two constituents are called multinomial compounds. These compounds involve a two way relationship — either the first two become one unit or the second two become one unit. Afterwards they form into one unit with the remaining constituent i.e., the third one. Thus we can have either one of the following types.



The above two types are taken up for discussion here.

Those which fall under type I are:

1. maam pa a-c-caa ru	“mango juice” (lit. juice of the mango fruit”)
2. kalañ karai vilakkam	“Tower light” (lit. the light which calls the ship”)
3. ceñcevi-c-ceeval	“The red eared rooster” (lit. the rooster which has a red ear”)
4. vellari-p-palam	“white-lined water melon” (lit. “the water melon which has white lines”)
5. ciñti vinaayakar kooyil	“the temple of Siddhi vin-aayaka ‘a deity’”

Those which come under type II are:

- 6. mayil aaṭu ṭugai "the shore where the peacock dances"
- 7. vaṭa peruṅkooyil "the big temple in the north"
- 8. tani-p-peruṅtalaivan "the sole great leader"

The derivation of these compounds is explained below with an example from each set.

For type I

The compound vellari-p-palam is derived in the following manner. Since each of the types of compounds involve several changes they are explained in stages.

I Stage:

ari veḷḷaiyaaka uḷḷaṭu

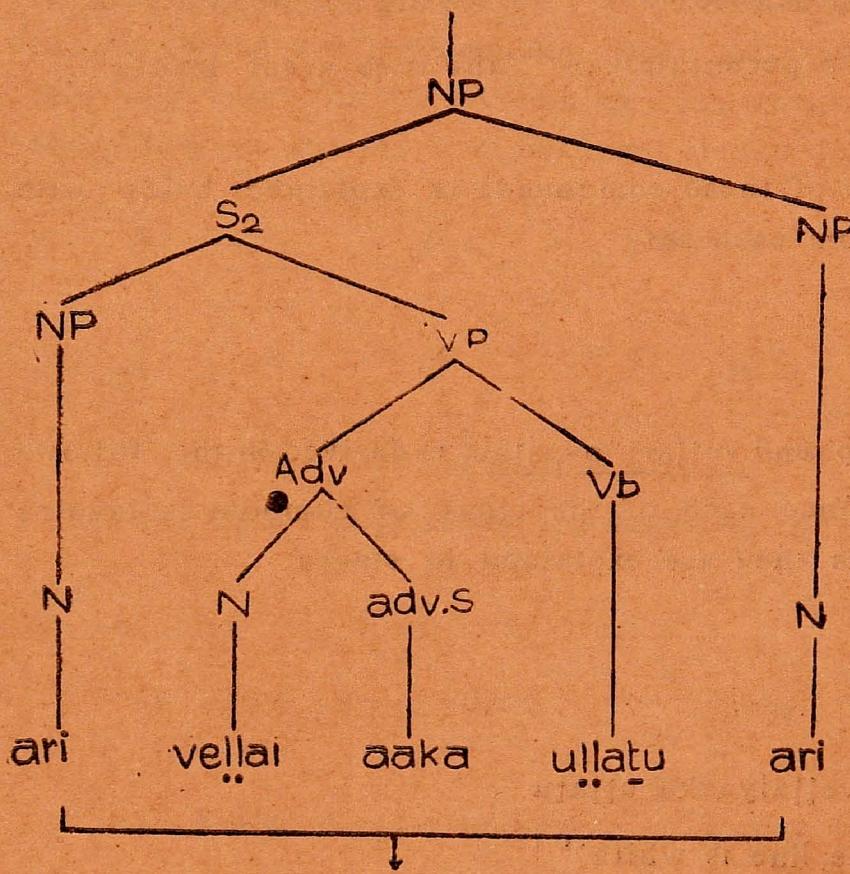
"The line is white"

II Stage:

palam veḷḷariyooṭu kuuṭiyaṭu

The base phrase marker etc., are explained below diagrammatically.

Stage 1



ari vellaiyaaka ullatu ari

... After Relativisation

ari vellaiyaaka ari

... Relative participle deletion.

ari vellai ari

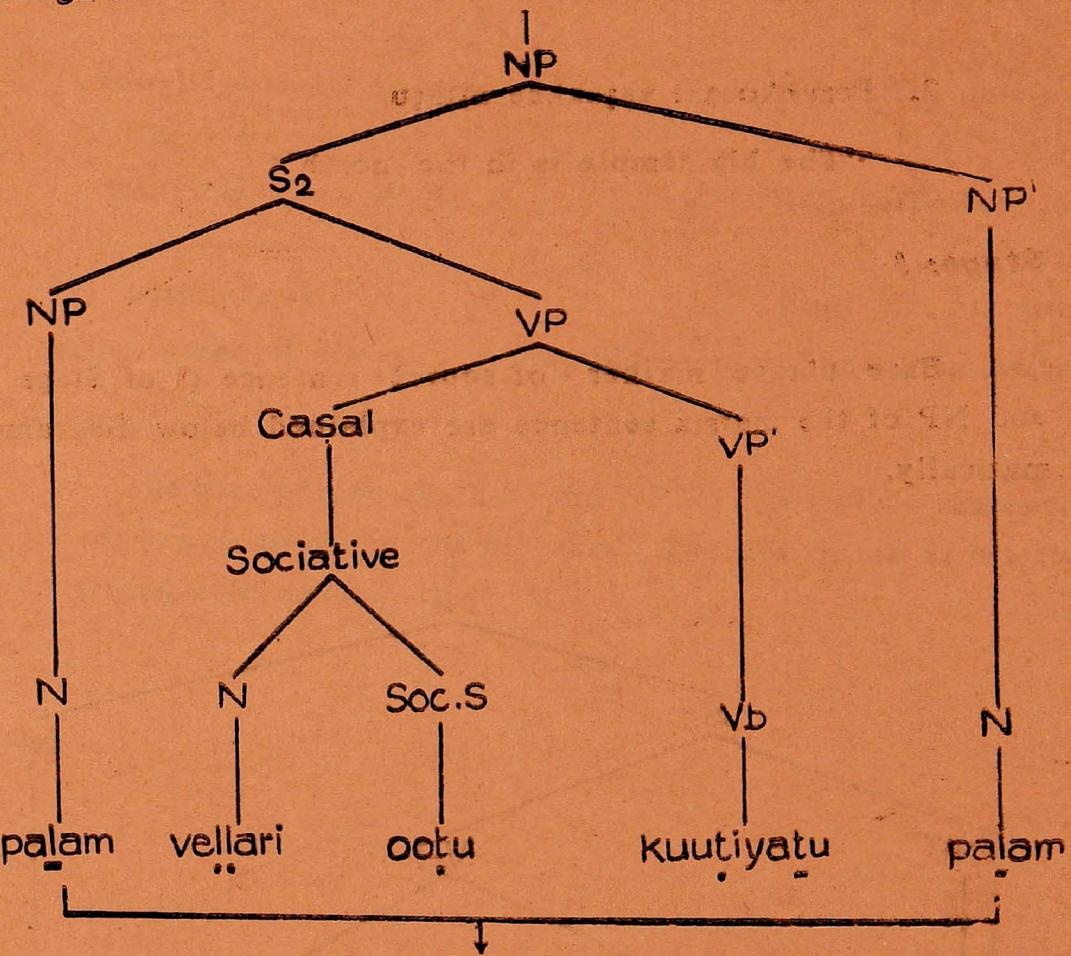
... Adv. suffix. deletion

ari vel ari

... Nom. suffix deletion

vellari

... Equi-NP deletion.

Stage II

palam vejjariyoođu kuuđiya pađam ... After Relativisation

↓
palam vejjariyoođu pađam ... " Relative part. deletion.

↓
palam vejjari pađam ... " Soc. suffix deletion

↓
vejjari pađam ... " Equi-NP deletion

Similarly for type II also the derivation is explained below.

Stage I vađa peruňkooyil

1. kooyil periyataaka ullatu "The temple is big"

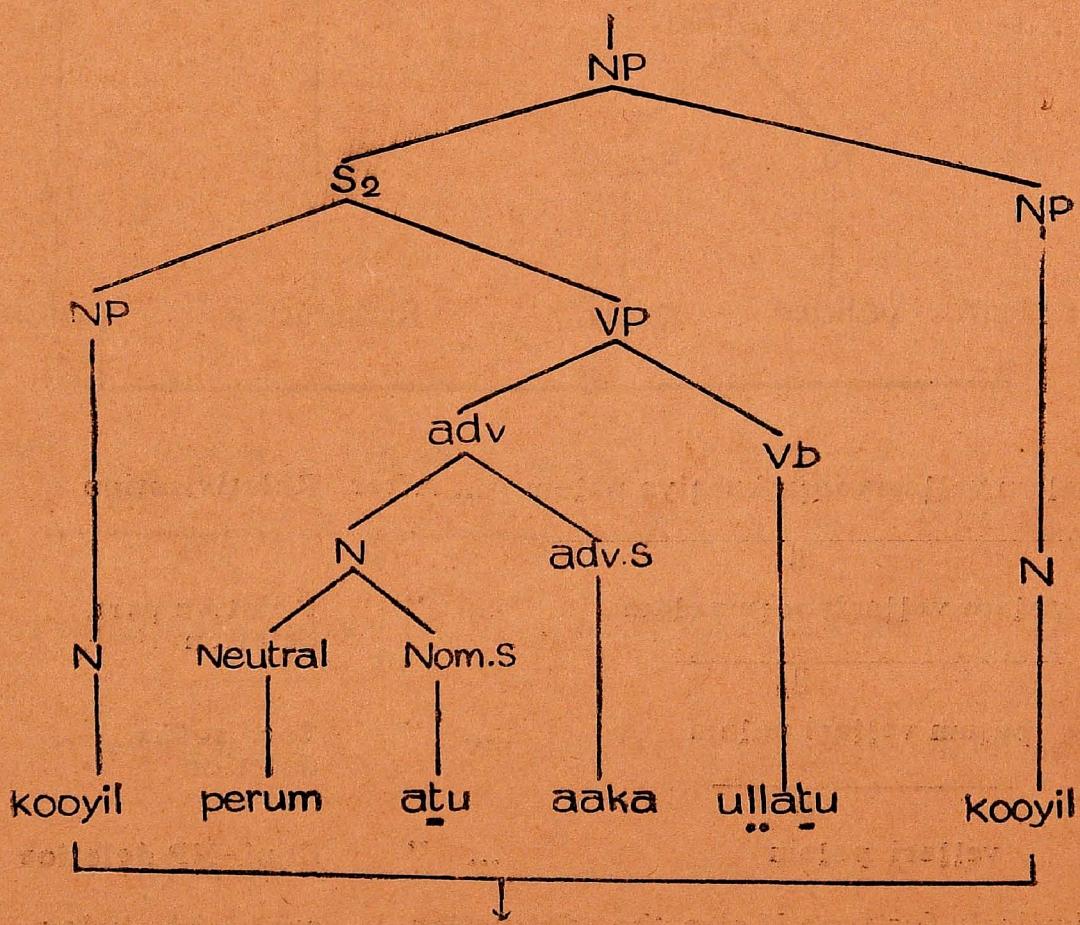
Stage II

2. **Peruṅkooyil vaṭakkee ullatū**

“The big temple is in the north”

Stage I

Base phrase marker of source sentence (1) of Stage I and NP of the matrix sentence are explained below diagrammatically.

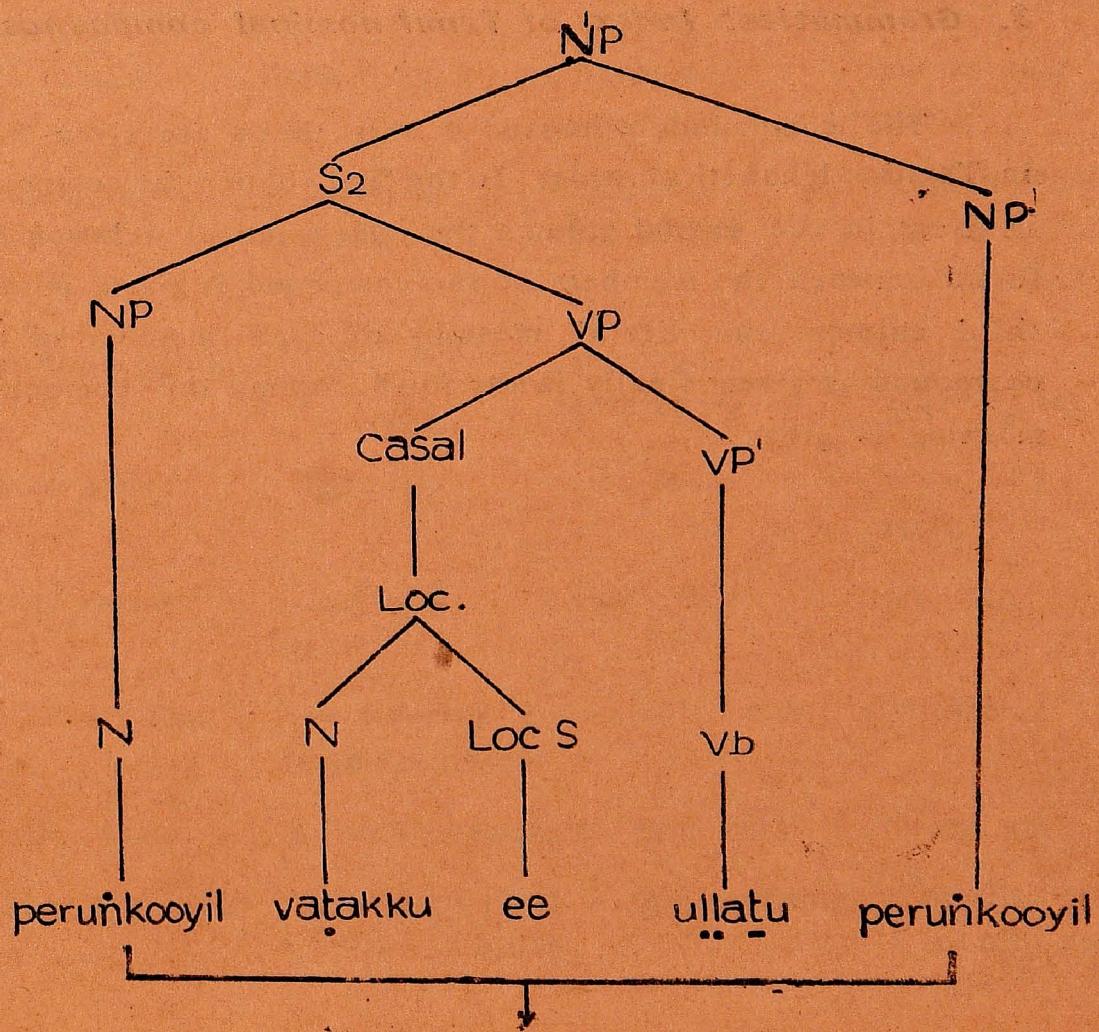


kooyil periyataaka ullatū kooyil ... after Relativisation

kooyil periyatāaka kooyil ... — after Rel. part. deletion
 |
 ↓
 kooyli periyatū kooyil ... " adv. suffix deletion
 |
 ↓
 kooyil perum kooyil ... " Nom. suffix deletion
 |
 ↓
 perum kooyil ... " Equi. NP deletion
 (perum + kooyil ==> perunkooyil morphophonemically)

Stage II

The base phrase marker and NP of the matrix sentence are explained below in the diagram. The derivation is briefly explained afterwards.



perunkooyil vaṭakkee uṭṭa perunkooyil ...after Relativisation.



perunkooyil vaṭakee perunkooyil ... " Rel. participle deletion



perunkooyil vaṭakku perunkooyil ... " Loc. Suffix deletion



perunkooyil vaṭaperunkooyil ... " Adjectivisation



vaṭa perunkooyil ... " Equi-NP deletion

3. Grammatical Index of Tamil nominal compounds.

The compounds discussed in this thesis are given here in Tamil alphabetical order. In the first column the compound is given; in the second column the grammatical relationship found between the members of the compound is given; in the third column the literal meaning of each member of the compound is given; finally in the forth column the compound meaning is given.

Compound	Grammatical relation	Lexical meaning	Compound meaning
aṭaiyaala-p-puu	specific+generic	symbol-flower	“symbolic flower”
aṇāku ṭakku	subject+Cog. Object	spirit+attack	“the attack of the spirit”
aṇṇan ṭankaimaar/			
aṇṇanṭankaiyar	Co-ordinate Compound	brother-sister (+plural)	“brother and sister”
aṭṭi-k-kuuṭam	Subject+locative	elephant hall	“elephant yard”
aṇṭi mangṭaarai	Temporal+Object	evening – man-ṭaarai (flower)	“mangṭaarai which blooms in the evening”
amuta moli	Figurative	ambrosia-speech	“nectar like speech”
amman kaacu	Subject+Locative	Goddess-coin image	“coin in which the image of Amman is found”
ammai-t-ṭalumpu	Cause+effect	smallpox-marking (s)	“smallpox marking (s)”
arici-p-pal	Figurative	rice-teeth	“rice like teeth”
arici maavu	Specific + Generic	rice - flour	“rice flour”
arivaal vettu	Instrumental + Cognate object	sickle - cut	“Sickle cut”
aruñ ceyal	Adverb + Subject	rare - act	“rare act”
alaku-p puuṭtu	Instrumental + Cognate Object	pin - closing	“closing (the mouth) with a pin”

aḡat kuuṇṭal	Figurative	Sanddune-hair	"curly hair like sand dunes"
anna ṣaṭai	Figurative	Swan - walk	"swan like gait"
aaṭu caṭai	Predicate verb + Subject	swing - muscle	swinging muscle" calf muscle"
aaṭṭiṭaiyan	Object + Subject	goat + shepherd	"shepherd"
aaṇṭai-k-kaṇ	Figurative	owl - eye	"owl- like eye"
aaruṭal kaṭi-ṭam	Object + Subject	consolation - letter	"consolation letter"
iñci-c-caaru	Ablative + Object	ginger - juice	"juice from ginger"
iṭṭili caampaar	Coordinate compound	Idli - Sambaar	"Idli and Sambaar" (edibles)
iraa-c-caappa- tu	Temporal + Object	night - food	"supper"
uṭal uṭaippu	Instrumental + Cognate Subject	body - labour	"physical labour"
uṭumpu-p-piṭi	Figurative	a wild lizard- catch	"the hold like that of a wild lizard"
uṭai kal	Verb(Predicate) + Object	to break- stone	"broken stone"
uppu maravai	Purposive + Object	salt - container	"salt container"
uuṛu kaay	Predicate Verb + Subject	Soaking - Vegetable	"pickle"
uuṛukaay-c- caṭi	Purposive + Object	pickle - jar	"pickle - jar"

urr curri	Object+Verb+ (Subject)	village- one who wanders	“a wanderer”
ellai-K-Kooṭu	Object+Subject	boundary-line	“boundary line”
oṭṭai-c civiṅki	Idiomatic	giraffe	“a person who is tall”
Kaṭal miin	Locative+ Subject	sea - fish	“sea-fish”
Kaṭalai-y- eṇṇey	Ablative + Object	ground nut - oil	“oil from ground nut”
Kaṭuṇ Kuṭir	Adverb + Subject	severe - cold	“severe cold”
Kaṭai-c- carakku	Locative + Object	shop-commodity	“market commodity”
Kaṇ viiccū	Instrumental + Cognate object	eye - cast/sweep	“eye cast/ sweep”
Kaṇṇataa-can Kaviṭai	Subject + Object	Kaṇṇataa-can- song(s)/poetry	“Kaṇṇataa-can’s poetry/song(s)
Kaṇmaṇi	Idiomatic	pupil of the eye	“a person who is very dear”
Kaṭar virpanai	Object+Cognate Object	khāḍi - sales	“khāḍi-sales”
Kaṭṭi-k-kutṭu	Instrumental + Cognate Object	knife - stab	“knife stab”
kapila paraṇar	coordinate	Kapilar - Paraṇar	“Kapilar and Paranaṇar (Proper names)
karaṭi-p-piṭi	Subject + cog. Object	bear - catch	“bear’s hug”

karumpu-c- caaru	Ablative+Object	Sugarcane - juice	“juice from sugar-cane”
kalai-p-parru	Sociative + Subject	art - attach- ment	“Love towards art”
kalañkarai viñakkam	Multinominal	ship - calling- light	“Tower light for ships”
kalki naaval	Subject+Object	Kalki - novel(s)	“Kalki’s novel (s)”
kal gencu	Figurative	stone - heart	“stone like heart”
kalleri	Instrumental + Cognate Object	stone - throw	“stone throwing”
kalutai-k-kaal	Figurative	donkey - leg	“criss-crossed legs like donkey”
kaakkaa-k- kuuñu	Subject + Object	crow - nest	“the nest of the crow”
kaat̄tu yaanai	Locative + Subject	jungle-elephant	“wild elephant”
kaalai-c-ceyti	Temporal + Object	morning - news	“morning news”
kaalai veyyil	Temporal + Subject	morning - sun - shine	“morning sun - shine”
kaarru-k-kaalam	Subject + Temporal	wind - season	“windy season”
kili-p-pontu	Subject + Locative	parrot - hole	“parrot - hole”
kili muukku	Figurative	parrot - nose	“nose like parrot”

kuṭi ṭaṇṇiir	Verb(Predicate) to drink - +Object	water	"drinking water"
kuṭiyaracu ṭinam	Object + Temporal	Republic - day	"Republic day"
kuraṇku mukam	Figurative	monkey face	"face like monkeys"
kuvalaj-k-kaṇ	Figurative	kuvalai flower - kuvalai flower" eye	like eye
kuṭaay-ṭ- ṭaṇṇiir	Ablative + Subject	pipe - water	"pipe (tap) water"
kuuṭai muṭaiṭal	Object+Cognate Object	basket - weaving	"basket - weaving"
keṭṭi viiṭu	Adverb + Object	strong - house	"strongly built house"
kol kalīru	Predicate + Subject verb	killing-elephant	"killing elephant"
koorikkai ṭinam	Object + Tem- poral	demand[s]- day	"demands day"
koorṭṭu vicaaraṇai	Locative + Ob- ject	court-enquiry	"hearing (in the court)"
carkkarai-p- peeccu	Figurative	Sugar -talk	sugar" like "speak
caatṭai-y-aṭi	Instrumental + Cognate Object	whip - beat	"whip lashing"
caappaatṭu neeram	Object + Tem- poral	food - time	"meals time"
caama-k-kooli	Temporal+sub- ject	pre-dawn period rooster	"the rooster which crows before dawn"

caarai-p-paampu	Specific + Gene-	caarai - snake	"rat snake"
ric			
cikna-k-kukai	Specific + Loca-	Lion -den	"lion's den"
tive			
citti vinaaya kar kooyil	Multinominal	Siddhi Vinaa- yaka temple	"Siddhi Vinaayaka Temple"
cuṭaṇṭira ḡaal	Object + Tem- poral	Independence- day	"Independence day"
cumai ṭaanki	Object + Verb + (Subject)i	burde -that which bears	"that which bears the burden"
cuuṭṭu-k-ko- ppuṭam	Cause + Subject	heat-eruption	"eruptions due to heat"
ceñcevi -c- ceeval	Multinominal	red-ear-rooster	"Red-eared rooster"
ceṭikoṭikaḷ	Coordinate Compound	plant-creeper (+plural)	"plants and creepers"
cella-k-kulāṇṭai	Adverb + Object	dear-baby	"dear boby"
cellaa-k-kaacu	Predicate + Sub- Verb	without going- ject coin	"co untefeit or worn out coin"
collamuṭam	Figurative (Type II)	word - nectar	"nectar-like word"
ṭaṇṇiir-ṭ-ṭoṭṭi	Purposive + Object	water - tub	"water tub"
ṭappu-k- kaṇakku	Adverb + Object	wrong-calcu- lation	"wrong calculation"
ṭamil-k-kuṭi	Specific + Generic	Tamil clan	"Tamil clan"

taʃir meeni	Figurative	tender leaf	body "tender leaf like body"
taʃ kaaʃal	Sociative + Sub- ject	self - love	"love towards oneself"
taʃi-p-peruŋ- talaivan	Multinominal (Type II)	unique - great leader	"the sole great leader"
taat̪taaviiṭu	Subject + Object	grandfather- house	"grandfather's house"
taay taakappan- maar	Coordinate	mother-father (+plural)	"mother and father"
ti-p-puŋ	Cause + effect	fire - wound	"fire burn(s)"
tuṭi-y-iṭai	Figurative	kettle-drum- waist	"kettle-drum- like waist"
tuŋi-p-pai	Purposive + Object	cloth-bag	"cloth bag"
tuni maŋikal	Co-ordinate compound	cloth-ornament	"cloth and ornaments"
tuukka maat̪tirai	Object + Subject	sleep-pill(s)	"sleeping pill(s)"
teru-p- porukki	Locative + Verb + (Subject)	street - one who gathers	"one who gathers in the street"
teʃi ɣiir	Adverb + Subject	clear + water	"clear water"
teṇnai maram	Specific + Generic	coconut-tree	"coconut-tree"
teer-e- cakkaram	Dative + Subject	chariot-wheel	"chariot wheel"
teeʃ koṭukku	Dative + Subject	scorpion- sting	"the sting of scorpion"

teenil valar-	Object + Cognate	bee-keeping	“bee-keeping
t̄al (valarppu)	Object	(lit. rearing)	
toju maātu	Locative + Object	cattleshed-cow	“cow in the cattle-shed”
toōt̄a(t̄u)-k-	Ablative +	garden-vege	“vegetable
kaay	Subject	table	from the garden”
tool pommai	Instrument +	leather- doll	“leather doll”
Objecet			
gaataka meētai	Object + Locative	drama-stage	“drama stage”
gaattu-p- pāru	Sociative +	country-	
	Subject	attachment	“patriotism”
gilaa mukam	Figurative	moon - face	“moon like face”
giir viīcci	Subject + Cog.	water-falling	“water-falls”
	Object		
nel vayal	Object + locative	paddy-field	“paddy field”
nellikkaay-	Ablative + Object	a kind of	“oil extracted
t̄-tailam		greenbeiry+oil	from a kind of
			greenberry”
nerri-c-cūt̄i	Locative + Object	forehead+orna.	“forehead
		ment	ornament”
pakal kaātci	Temporal +	daytime-show	“matinee show”
	Object		
pakkat̄tu viītu	Locative +	near-house	“the house
	Subject		nearby”
paci mayakkam	cause + Subject	hunger-fatigue	“fatigue due to
			hunger”
paccoont̄i	Idiomatic	chameleon	“a person who often
			changes his affiliations”

paṇa-p-petti	Purposive+ Object	money-box	“cash box”
paruva malai	Temporal+ Subject	season- rain(s)	“seasonal rain(s)”
palaa-k-kaṭṭai	Specific+ Generic	jack-wood/log	“log of jack tree”
pavaṭa uṭṭaṭu	Figurative	coral-lip(s)	“coral like lip(s)”
paṭa viyaapaari	Object+ Subject	fruit-merchant	“fruit merchant”
panṭi mukam	Figurative	pig-face	“pig-like face”
paaṭṭan coṭṭu	Subject+Object	grandfather- property	“grand father’s property”
paampu-p-purru	Subject+Loca- tive	snake-anthill hole	“snake hole”
paal maaṭu	Object+Subject	milk-cow	“milch cow”
paal mukam	Figurative	milk-face	“milk-like face”
puli-p-pal	Dative+Subject	tiger-tooth	“the tooth of the tiger”
puli-p-paayccal	Figurative	tiger-leap	“leap like a tiger”
pul puuṇṭukal	Coordinate Compound	grass-root (+plural)	“grass and roots”
punuku-p- puunai	Object+Subject	punuku-cat	“punuku cat”
perun kooyil	Adverb+Subject	big-temple	“big temple”
peeccu malai	Figurative (Type II)	speech-rain	“rain-like speech”
pommai ceyṭal	Object+Cog. Object	doll-doing	“doll making”

pooṭu maṇ	Verb+Object to dump-mud (Predicate)	"dumped mud"
maṭṭa arici	Adverb+Subject bad-rice	"rice of bad quality"
maṇ pommai	Instrument+Ob- clay-doll ject	"clay doll"
maṭiya uṇavu	Temporal+Ob- noon-meal(s) ject	"noon meal(s)"
mayil aaṭu ṭuṛai	Multinominal peacock-dance- (Type II) shore	"the shore where peacock dances"
mara-p-paṭṭai	Ablative+Ob- tree-bark ject	"bark of the tree"
mara-p-peṭṭi	Instrumental+ wood-box Object	"wooden box"
malai (y) aaṭu	Locative+Sub- mountain goat ject	"mountain ram"
mallikai-p-puu	Specific+Gene- jasmine-flower ric	"jasmine flower"
maṭai-k-kaalam	Subject+Tem- rain-season poral	"rainy season"
maṭai-k-kuri	Object+Subject rain-sign	"rain sign"
maṭai-t-taṇṇiir	cause+Subject rain-water	"rain water"
maaṭi viiṭu	Sociative+Sub- upstairs- ject house	"the house with upstairs"
maa maram	Specific+Gene- mango-tree ric	"mango tree"

maampala-c- caaru	Multinominal Object	mango fruit - juice	“mango juice”
maalai vakuppu	Temporal + Object	evening - class	“evening class”
miṭṭaay-k-kaṭai	Object + Locative	Sweet meat - shop	“sweet meat shop”
muka maṭiyam	Figurative (Type II)	Face - moon	“moon - like face”
muṭṭi ṭiruṭṭai	Object + cog- Object	hair - corre- ting	“hair dressing”
muṭṭai-y-ooṭu	Dative + Subject	egg - shell	“egg - shell”
muṇṭiri-k- koṭṭai	Idiomatic	cashew nut	“a person who rushes out to speak first”
mullai-c- cirippu	Figurative	jasmine - smile	“smile like the jasmine flower”
muuṇkil kaļuṭṭu	Figurative	bamboo-neck	“neck like the bamboo”
meeni minukki	Object + Verb	body - one who	“a showy woman”
meenu minukki	+ (Subject) i	decorates	
yaanai-k- kempu	Dative + Sub- ject	elephant - tusk	“the tusk of the elephant”
raca vaaļi	Purposive + Object	pepper-water bucket-can	“pepper-water bucket”

raa-p-paaṭi	Locative + Verb night - one (Subject) i	who sings	"one who sings in the night"
vata peruñ- koḍyil	Multinominal (Type II)	north-big . Temple	"the big temple in the north"
varu viruṇṭu	Predicate Verb coming - guest + Subject		"coming guests"
varai-t-ṭooṭ	Figurative	bamboo - shoulder	"shoulder like the bamboo"
valai-p-paniyan	Figurative	net - banian	"net-shaped banian"
vallēluttu	Adverb + Object hard - sound		"hard sound"
vagu kaṭalai	Verb(Predicate) to roast + + Object	ground-nut	"roasted ground - nut"
vaalai-t- toṭṭam	Object + Loca- tive	banana - grove	"banana grove"
vaalkkai-c- cakkaram	Figurative (Type II)	life - wheel	"wheel - like life"
vaan maṭai	Ablative + Subject	sky - rain(s)	"rain(s) from the sky"
viciṭi vaalai	Figurative	fan - banana (leaf)	"fan-like banana (leaf)"
viṭṭalai ḡaaṭ	Object + Tem- poral	release - day	"Independence day"

vilaiyaat̄tu	Object +	play - ground	"play ground"
maītaanam	Locative		
viraivu vañti	Adverb + Object	speed - vehicle	"speedy vehicle"
vīt puruvam	Figurative	bow - eye-brow	"bow-like-eye brow"
viīt̄u-p- pattu	Sociative + Subject	release - attach- ment	"desire toward mok̄sha or release from the world"
venkaaya-t̄-tool	Dative + Subject	onion - skin	"onion skin"
vejjari-p-paļam	Multinomial	white-line-fruit	"water melon"
veyyil neeram	Subject + Temporal	sunshine-time	"sunshine time"
veyyil kaalam	Subject + Temporal	sunshine - time	"summer" period
veeppan kucci	Ablative + Object	neem - stick	"stick from the neem (tree)"
veelai-t̄-toñ- taravu	Cause + Subject	work - trouble	"worry due to work"
veela-k-karumpu	Specific + Generic	veelam - sugar- cane	"a variety of sugar-cane" or a "kind of stalk"

APPENDIX

Treatment of compounds by traditional Tamil grammarians and commentators.

In this section a critical evaluation of the treatment of compounds by the Tamil grammarians and commentators is attempted. In the first section Tolkaappiyar's treatment of compounds is dealt with. In the second section various views on compounding expressed by the commentators on Tolkaappiyam are dealt with. In the third section Pavananti's views on compounding is explained.

1. Tolkaappiyar's treatment of compounds.

Tolkaappiyam is the earliest work now extant in Tamil. The author of this famous grammatical treatise is called Tolkaappiyar, who belongs to third century B.C.¹ This grammar consists of three parts viz., (1) eluttatikaaram—the chapter on phonology and sandhi, (2) collatikaaram—the chapter on poetics and syntax and (3) porulatikaaram—the chapter on morphology and prosody. Compounds are discussed by him mainly in the second part though some stray ideas are also found in the first chapter. In Collatikaaram we find suutras referring to the compounds given in the last chapter which goes by the name ecca-v-iyal “residual chapter” What could not be discussed in other chapters are all treated here. Hence the name.

1.1. Number of compounds

First he gives the number of compounds as six viz., (1) veerrumai-t-tokai "casal compound", (2) uvama-t-tokai "compound of comparison", (3) vinai-y-in-tokai "verbal compound", (4) pañpin tokai "compound of quality", (5) ummai-t-tokai "compound involving 'um,'" i.e. "coordinate compound" and (6) anmoli-t-tokai "bahuvrihi compound". (T.C.406)

1.2. Interpretation of compounds

1.21. Casal compound

From the next suutra onwards he proceeds to explain these compounds. T.C.407 explains the casal compound as "the casal compound is as that of casal." This means that the structure of casal compound is that of the casal phrase. It should be pointed out here that Tolkaappiyar while discussing the different case systems points out to several phrase structures involving casal suffixes. These explanations could be taken very well as dealing with the underlying phrase structures. By saying that the casal compounds are as that of the casal phrases Tolkaappiyar has clearly recognised the similarity of the grammatical relationship found between the members of the compound and its underlying phrase structure. This is very significant. While discussing the nominal compounds we have pointed out that according to the transformational theory of compounding the constituents of the surface level compounds really mirror the syntactic relationship of the underlying structures. Tolkaappiyar's observation is also more or less same. However he does not deal with the derivational processes from the

admits deletion in the formation of compounds. But however there is no explicit statement regarding the formation of compounds made by him.

1.22. Compounds involving comparison.

In T.C.408 he refers to the compound involving comparison and explains it as like that of comparative construction. Here again the similarity of relationship found between the underlying phrase involving comparison and the surface level compound is pointed out. The concept of comparison is fully elaborated later in the third part i.e., *poruṭaṭikaaram* in *Tolkaappiyam* where the types of comparison, the particles of comparison are all fully explained.

1.23. Verbal compound

In T.C.409 he explains the verbal compound saying that it will be explained with tense. This needs some explanation. For example the compound kolyaanai “killing elephant” contains two members viz., kol, the verb root meaning ‘to kill’ and yaanai the noun meaning “the elephant”. When this is expanded this is always done by adding the tense concept. So kol yaanai will be expanded accordingly as any one of the following:

- (1) kollum yaanai - “the elephant which will kill/kills”
- (2) konṭa yaanai - “the elephant which killed”
- (3) kolkiṭa yaanai - “the elephant which kills”

(3) is really another variation of (1). contains a finite form which is non-past whereas (3) shows only the present.

7. 24. Compounds of quality

T.C. 410 deals with compounds of quality. Tolkaappiyar makes a sub-classification of this type of compounds into four based on the meanings of the first member of the compounds. In this suutra he gives the underlying phrase structure itself and explains the sub-types. The underlying structure given by him is viz., innaṭu iṭu "such and such is this". This is actually representing $Np+Np$ type sentence in Tamil. The four sub-classifications made by him are as follows: (1) that which denotes the colour - e.g. karuṇkuṭirai "block horse" which is derived from the sentence kuṭirai kariyaṭu "the horse is black", (2) that which denotes from - e.g. vatṭa-p-palakai "a round plank" <palakai vatṭam aakiyaṭu "the plank is round" (3) that which denotes measurement - e.g., kurun kool "short stick"; and (4) that which denotes the taste - e.g. tiṇṇkarumpu "sweet sugarcane" <karumpu tiiviyaṭu "the sugar-cane is sweet". According to Tolkaappiyar all compounds which have attribute denoting quality etc., should be classified under this type on the basis of the sub-type shown above.

7.25. Coordinate compounds

The compounds involving coordinate construction are dealt with in T.C411. He classifies them under six types viz.,

(1) compounds which have two nouns, (2) those which have many nouns, (3) those which have nouns denoting measurement as their members, (4) those which have nouns formed from numerals as their members, (5) those which have nouns denoting weights and (6) those which have numerals as their members. The following are the examples for the above types.

- (1) Kapilaparaṇar "Kapilar and Paranar" derived from Kapilarum Paraṇarum.
- (2) Puli Vil keṇṭai "Tiger, bow and fish" derived from Puliyum Villum keṇṭaiyum.
- (3) tuuṇi-p-paṭakku "tuuṇi and paṭakku (measurements)" derived from tuuṇi-y-um paṭakkum.
- (4) Paṭinaivar "fifteen persons" derived from paṭinm̄arum aivarum.
- (5) toṭi-y-arai "half toṭai (weight)" derived from toṭi-y-um arai-um.
- (6) paṭinon̄u "eleven" (numeral) derived from paṭṭum on̄um

He makes an important observation regarding the coordinate compounds in T.C 415. He says that the coordinate compound which consists of words of superior category will take the plural ending. In our discussion on coordinate compounds, we have pointed out this peculiarity and explained that in this respect it is different from other types of compounds.

1.26. *Bahuvrihi compounds*

The sixth type of compound to be discussed is the anmolit-tokai or bahuvrihi compound. In T.C.412 Tolkaappiyar explains the formation of this compound. This is not really a separate type of compound but derived from the following three compounds viz., (1) pañpu-t-tokai "compound of quality". (2) ummai-t-tokai coordinate compound, (3) veerrumai-t-tokai "casal compound". However, he omits the other two types viz., vinai-t-tokai and uvamai-t-tokai. No reasons were given for the omission of these two. However the later grammarians especially Pavañanti (the author of Nannuul of the 13th Century A.D.) do inculde these two also as basis for the formation of anmolit-tokai, following Ilampuurañar, the first known commentator on Tolkaappiyam, who himself probably follows Avinayanaar, a 9th century A.D. grammarian. The phrase anmolit needs some explanation here. anmolit simply means "the word that is not" and anmolit-tokai means "the compound where the head word is not present". To explain this in terms of transformational generative grammar that we have to presume that the head word which is not present in the surface structure is found in the underlying phrase and is deleted in the derivational process. Besides the second member of the compound itself is derived from an underlying sentence which in turn is a constituent sentence. For example vellaatai "the woman who wears a white saree". Here the word denoting "woman" is not present in the surface structure. The underlying phrase structure for this compound will be orutti- aaṭai yai uṭṭukiraaḷ "someone

(woman) wears a satee''. The attribute vel has to be derived from another sentence aaṭai vellaiyaaka irukkiraṭu "the cloth is white". These two are combined and the phrase oruṭṭi vellaaṭaiyai uṭṭukiraṭa ⇒ vellaaṭaiyai uṭṭukiraṭa oruṭṭi ⇒ vellaaṭai

As already pointed out Tolkaappiyar does not deal with the derivational processes of these compounds. The example for other types are as follows: bahuvrihi compound based on (1) ummai-t-ṭokai "coordinate compound". ṭakara ṣaaṭal "she who has applied fragrant brilliantini (to her hair) derived from the phrase ṭakaramum ṣaaṭalum and (2) based on veerrumai-t-tokai 'casal compound': porraali "she who has worn sacred thread made of gold", derived from the phrase ponnaalaaya ṭaali "the sacred thread made out of gold".

The next suutra (T.C.413) deals with the semantic aspects of these compounds. According to this suutra the primary meaning of the compound may be in the first member of the compound, or in the second member of the compound or on both or elsewhere. The examples given by the Commentator Ijampuuraṇar are given below.

Primary meaning in the first member: veenkai-p-puu "veen-kai flower"

" second " : aaramaalai " garland of aar" (This example was given by Naccinaarkkiniyar)

both the words:

uvaa-p-patiṇaāṅku
"fifteenth day of the
moon"

Elsewhere (i.e.
other than the
two members)

all bahuvrīhi com-
pounds will come
under this

Next comes an important suutra (T.C.414) which explains that all compounds function as single words. This is an observation from the syntactic point of view. There is a suutra (T.C.68) in Veerrumai-y-iyal "chapter on case system" which explains that even nominal compounds (peyarin-aakiyaṭokai) will take the six types of predicates enumerated and explained in the previous suutra. It also suggests that all nominal compounds will function as subject also. By explaining this Tolkaappiyar points out that compounds are substitutable in the place of single nouns. This view is strengthened by his statement given above that all compounds function as single units.

Besides we also find Tolkaappiyar explaining compounds either by giving both the members of by giving the sub categorial features of the members of the compounds. These instances are given below.

By giving both the members of the compound.

(1) aāñmaiyūuṭṭā makanen kiļavi
(T. C. 160)

"the word were makan
follows the word aan"
i.e. aāñmakan "a male"

(2) peṇmai-y-aṭuṭṭa makal en kiṭavi "the word where makal follows pen." i.e. 'peṇmakal' "a girl"

(T.C. 160)

By giving the subcategorical features of the members of the compound.

(1) aṭai-p-peyar "noun denoting possession" (T.G. 162)
e.g. peeruūr kilaan "the lord of Peeruūr"

(2) palloor-k-kuriṭṭa cinaí nilai-p-peyar "the noun denoting epicene plural when one of the words will denote a limb" e.g. peruṇkaalar "big legged people" (T.C. 162)
(See also suutras 166 and 171)

2. Commentator's views on compounding

2.1. Iṭampuuraṇar

One can usefully discuss the views expressed by the commentators on Tolkaappiyam. The first known commentator on Tolkaappiyam is called Iṭampuuraṇar, a Jain monk, who belonged to twelfth century A.D. Thus we get a commentator explaining the suutras of Tolkaappiyam nearly after fifteen centuries. It is quite natural that in several places he could not explain fully well. His views on compounds could be brought under two broad heads viz., (1) the formation of compounds and (2) the interpretation of compounds.

2.1.1. Formation of compounds

First of all he describes compounds as one of the three types of the coming together, or grouping of words. Accord-

ing to him when any two words come together they occur: (1) as compounds or (2) in coordinate construction or (3) in subject-predicate relation. (T.C.1-Commentary).

In Tamil generally the compounds are formed out of noun and noun or noun and verb. nilam + kaṭantaan, "he who crossed the land" is a compound of noun+verb. But Ceenaavaraiyar (the next great commentator on Tolkappiyam whose views are elaborately discussed in the next section) holds that this however is not technically a compound. Others however hold that it can occur technically as a compound and behave like a noun taking case signs and recurring as subject and predicate in Tamil.

According to Ilampuurrangar some will take the combination of a verb and a noun also as a compound (T. C. 68-commentary). His conclusion is based on his view of vinai-t-tokai which according to him consists peyar eccam 'relative participle' + noun. Ceenaavaraiyar holds that vinai-t-tokai is a combination of the verb root+noun where the verb root denotes when it is not in the imperative mood, as usual a verbal noun but which here because of the force of the compound denotes tense. According to him there is only verbal noun+noun. He denies that there is any peyar eccam. Neccinaarkkiniyar (another commentator on Tolkappiyam who has also written critical, scholarly commentaries on cankam as well as post-cankam works) it is true, holds that there is a peyar eccam but the form is not that of peyar eccam though the meaning of peyar eccam is there. According to him at the deep structure level, if

one may use the term, there is the predicate verb which however by transformation becomes the adjunct where that verb becomes a deverbalised noun or participle noun (i.e. vinaiyaal aṇaiyum peyar). Therefore there is only participial noun+noun. However, this has the meaning of a peyar eccam; it is because it is an attribute, i.e., the participial noun is transformed into a peyar eccam whereafter the tense signs are also deleted. Therefore, all others except Iļampuuraṇar hold that vinai-t-tokai is noun+noun. Perhaps even Iļampuuraṇar is talking of the resulting meaning rather than the form. The distinction between vinai-t-tokai and panpu-t-tokai is that in the former the first part is a verbal root and it is a noun root in the latter. He may be referring to it. But because of the cryptic language one cannot be sure.

2. 1.11. *Deletions*

Iļampuuraṇar has clearly recognised the relationship between the compounds and their corresponding phrases and admits that there are deletions in the process of the derivation of the compounds. Deletion includes the deletion of not only the suffixes, enclitics showing the relevant grammatical relationship but also other words that occur in the (underlying) phrase according to him. For example the casal compound kuṭirai-t-teer, "the chariot drawn by the horse" is derived from the (underlying) phrase kuṭirai-y-aaṛ puuṭ-tappaṭṭa teer "the chariot tied with the horse". Here in the derivational process not only the instrumental case suffix -aal is deleted but also the words - punṭappaṭṭa (T.C.-79- commentary).

2.1.12. *Other views on compounding*

He also points out other views regarding this deletion under T.C.407. He says that there are some people who do not agree with this view of the deletion of case suffixes. According to them the nouns combine to become a compound without the casal suffixes and by the fact of compounding they express the relevant grammatical relationship. There is another group of people who do not agree with this view. Ilampuuraṇar however does not explain further this latter view. Ceenaavaraiyar is of the former view. (A detailed discussion on this could be seen in the next section)

2.1.2. *Interpretation of compounds*

2.1.21. *Casal compounds*

Casal compounds express the meaning as like they express while there were casal suffixes. In the formation of compounds the casal suffixes will be deleted. (T.C.407- commentary.)

2.1.22. *Compounds involving comparison*

Ilampuuraṇar raises an interesting question as to how to treat the compounds which involve comparison. This type of compound when expanded contains not only the Particle of comparison but also the accusative case suffix. For example, Ilampuuraṇar gives the compound tuṭiṇaṭu "the waist (of a girl) like a kettle-drum". Here the shape of the waist is compared to the shape of the kettle-drum. The expanded (or underlying) phrase is tuṭi-y-ai okkum naṭu "the waist will be like the

kettle-drum". Here arises a problem whether to call this as a **casal compound** (because it is expanded with the case suffix) or as a **compound of comparison** (because it is expanded with the particle of comparison - okkum) The conclusion is though the compound is arrived at after the deletion of both the casal suffix and the comparative particle the intended meaning of the native speaker is comparison only and hence it should be called only as a compound of comparison. (T.C. 408 commentary). Ceenaavaraiyar points out that many particles of comparison like anna are not preceded by a noun taking the accusative case sign and therefore in all such cases there cannot be any casal relation but only a relationship of comparison.

But Naccinaarkkiniyar rightly contradicts this conclusion. Since all the particles of comparison behave like eccam becoming thereby the predicate of an object. According to him there is the casal relation; however thereafter there is the comparison or the relation of comparison which fact sets apart these kinds of compounds.

2.1.23. *Vinai-t-tokai*

Since the views of Ilampuuraṇar have already been discussed (see section 2.1.1) they have not been repeated here. However it should be pointed out that Ilampuuraṇar speaks of partial deletion in the verb in the formation of the compound. For example in the compound *kol yaannai* "killing elephant" only *kol* is retained and the suffix-*um* (in *kollum*-the source verb) is deleted.

2.1.24. *paṇpu-t-ṭokai* (*compounds with attributes of quality*).

While forming this compound Iḷampuuraṇar argues that whilst one portion of the attributive word (i.e. the first member of the compound) is retained and the other portion is deleted. (T.C.410 – commentary.) The example given by him is karuṇakuṭirai “black horse” which is expanded as kariyaṭu kuṭirai. When the compound is formed from this phrase the suffix -aṭu is deleted in the word kariyaṭu and only kar (um) is retained. Hence the name paṇpu-t-ṭokai “compound of quality”.

2.1.25. *Compounds involving coordinate construction*.

His observation on the functioning of the coordinate type of compounds at the syntactic level is noteworthy. He observes (T.C.415-commentary) that if the proper names viz., Kapilan and Paran are combined to make a compound viz - Kapila Paranan because of its ending -n (which is singular) it should take only a singular suffix in the finite verb. This is ungrammatical. He points out here that is why Tolkaappiyar has explained that this type of compound will always have a plural suffix. Accordingly the compound also should have a plural marker.. (i.e., it will become Kalila Paranar). Iḷampuuraṇar rightly explains here that the predication is based on both the constituents of the compound. This is in accordance with the transformational theory of coordination.

2.1.26 anmoḷi-t-ṭokai.

Here Iḷampuuraṇar speaks about the intonation pattern

of the compound. Since this type of compounds will not have the head word of the deeper structure in the surface level Ilampuurañar points out that this compound will be pronounced with falling intonation (paññatal oocai is the phrase used by him) so that the emphasis will not be either on the first member or the second member of the compound but on the missing noun. (T.C.412 commentary.)

Tolkaappiyar has explained that this anmol-i-t-tokai is formed on the basis of casal compound, compound of quality and coordinate compounds only. However Ilampuurañar points out that even on the basis of the other two compounds viz., compound of comparison and vinai-i-t-tokai, anmol-i-t-tokai could be formed. Probably Ilampuurañar follows here the views of Avinayanaar, a Jain grammarian whose work is not available in full form. (Some of his suutras are quoted by the commentators. With reference to the formation of anmol-i-t-tokai see his suutra quoted by Naccinaarkkiniyar under T.C 418.)

2.1.27 *Emphasis of meaning.*

Under T.C.413 he discusses the emphasis of meaning among the constituents of the compound. Two types of emphasis are noted by him viz., [1] that which takes a predicate is important and (2) that which is specified is also important. For type (1) the example given is veenkai-p-puu, "veenkai flower". Here a question arises as to where does the the emphasis lie in the compound. When a suitable verb is added to this the emphasis is revealed and understood. In the sentence veenkai-p-puu nariṇu "the veenkai flower is

fragrant", because of the verb pariṇ "is fragrant" we understand that only the second member of the compound is emphasised, because 'fragrance' is associated only with the 'flower' i.e., puu and not with the tree called veenkai. For type (2) he gives the example vellaatai. The literal meaning of this compound is "white dress". But when a verb like vantaal is added to this compound we understand that the compound is not referring to the white dress but to a woman who is wearing that. Here the emphasis is not on the words vellai and aatai but to the person. The word denoting this person is deleted at the surface level. We find that this kind of explanation with reference to the emphasis of meaning is also given by Sanskrit grammarians.

22. Ceenaavaraiyar

The next great commentator on Tolkaappiyam is called Ceenaavaraiyar. He is a student of logic and a great scholar in both Tamil and Sanskrit. The influence of Sanskritic ideas on him could be seen almost on every page. I am not attempting here to bring out the impact of Sanskrit on him. That will form a separate study. Of all the commentators he has discussed more on the theories of compounding and the interpretation of compounds. Since the other commentators viz, the Naccinaarkkiniyar, Teyvaccilaiyaar, and Kallaatār follow either Ilampuuraapar or Ceenaavaraiyar. I have not discussed their ideas separately.

As already pointed out Ceenaavaraiyar follows the view according to which deletion of the suffixes is not criterion for compound formation. I shall present below the views of Ceenaavaraiyar on compounding in a summary way.

2.2.1. Theories of compounding

Ceenaavariyar points out two different theories on compounding under T.C.412. According to him, there are two groups for scholars among which one group will say that the compounds are formed because of the deletion of the case suffix or the particle of comparison or the particle -um (used in coordinate construction) or the suffix of the finite verb or the suffix of the noun denoting quality. The other group will say that two or more words combine together without any pause or hiatus and become a wellknit unit expressing the relevant meaning. Ceenaavariyar accepts this latter view. He points out that, in examples, like veela-k, -karumpu "a kind of stalk" and keelar-paṇṇi "pig" (here both nouns refer to "pig") no suffix is deleted but still they function as compound nouns. Further he argues that this is the view of Tolkaappiyar also. The words compounded behave like one word. But Ceenaavariyar points out that there may be phrases which may as combination of words act as one grammatical unit. Therefore he emphasises in addition the fact that there is no pause between the words when alone one can speak of a compound technically (cf. Tolkaappiyam suutra: ellaat-tokai-y-um oru, col nataiya, "all compounds behave like one word.") He further points out that in compounds like iruveyarottu-p-paṇṇu-t-tokai like keelar paṇṇi no word is deleted and argues therefore that talking the deletion of suffixes etc, as the criterion for the formation of compound is unacceptable. Instead the members of the compounds themselves express by the fact of the compounding the meanings of case suffixes, etc. (T.C. 412-commentary). This is something like the argument that in the English example 'black-board' no suffix is deleted and by virtue of their coming together,

with a fixed stress pattern this is still called a compound. Here one could feel the idiomatic sense of this compound has developed in course of time.

Probably Ceenaavaraiyar is accepting these compounds which underwent a semantic shift like this as real compounds in Tamil also we get such examples like Cempoottu "a kind of bird". Here the attribute Cem "red" is not used as a restrictive attribute but only as a descriptive attribute. This is not referring simply to a red coloured bird but a particular species of birds by the force of the compound. As such this has developed a kind of idiomatic meaning.

22.11. Naccinaarkkiniyar's view.

"Naccinaarkkiniyat" coming after Ceenaavaraiyar refines the opposite theory so as to answer Ceenaavaraiyat's objections. He holds that in all kinds of compounds "there is deletion - one or more suffixes, enclitics, words (T.C.412 - commentary)." The deletion of case signs, enclitic - um, and suffixes in vinai-t-tokai and pañpu-t-tokai and words in anmoisi-t-tokai are admitted by both. But in what are called iru peyar ottu-p-pañpu-t-tokai (eg. caarai-p-paampu). Ceenaavaraiyar points out that there is not any morpheme or word deleted. Naccinaarkkiniyar points out that even here there is the morph 'aakiya' which comes in between the two words of such compounds, to show that these words and in the relationship of the determiner and the determined (T.C.412 - commentary). Ceenaavaraiyar interprets the word 'toka' found in Tolkaappiyam 412 as to mean, "to occur as compound" whilst others will interpret it to

mean "when a morpheme or word is deleted". In 'vatta-p-palakai' "round plank" Naccinaarkkiniyar points out that there is only the deletion of the final-m in the first word vattam which becomes vatta and it is curious that he holds even this sandhi deletion is a deletion in a compound (T.C. 416-Commentary). Unless we take it to mean that in this way, the two words become a well-knit, pauseless unit, it is difficult to follow him. Even according to his theory in this instance also, there is the deletion of 'aakiya' which he has said denotes the relationship of the determiner and the determined between the two words of a compound.

2.2.2. Interpretation of Compounds-general.

The theory of compounding as explained above contains the theory of interpreting compounds as well. A compound behaves like one word-a noun. Compound formation is like morphological formation-more so in an agglutinative language like Tamil. If analysed, the words of the compounds are not always immediate constituents though forming one constitute. Tolkaapiyar (suutra 83) is considered to have explained how compounds give there meaning. There is specific mention only of the casal compounds but it is taken to apply to all compounds in general. If one may use the conception of deep structure and surface structure, the meaning structure being the deep structure, Tolkaappiyar may be taken to have described each compound in terms of a respective deep structure. The casal compound is that which is of the nature of a casal phrase structure viz., Noun + Case sign + Predicate. Similarly the other compounds are defined. In a casal compound there are only two nouns - the sign is not there; nor is the predicate. Tolkaappiyar in the suutra mentioned (83) states that there is no one uniform semantic

formula. All the meaningful words required for understanding the compound, necessarily within the context of the sentence - come in the meaning structure. Commentators like Iłampuuraṇar, and Naccinaarkkiniyar explain that these words may have to be supplied in between the words or at the end. In *anmol-i-t-ṭokai* words are added at the end of the compound. In others, the words are added in between the words. If the casal compound is of the nature of casal phrase structure and so on, one must go back to the fully formed casal structure sentence, which gets embedded in a nominalised form in a matrix sentence. This is hinted. But we are not told all the steps of the transformation like when the case sign is deleted, when the predicate is deleted, what forms and transpositions the predicates under go, etc., There is only a blanket projection rule that all words required for understanding the compound are suggested to the listener and are therefore necessarily implied by the speakers. But as hinted above, the definition of each compound refers in a way to the original deep structure. It is for us to work out the transformations.

Even as words get compounded into compounds, compounds behaving like words in their turn become compounded into compounds. Take for instance *pavaḷa vaay-p-peer amar-k-kaṇ porroṭi* There is *porroṭi* 'the damsel of the bangles made of gold', an *anmol-i-t-ṭokai* formed from the *veerrumai-i-t-ṭokai* which is the head here. *Pavaḷa vaay* is a compound of comparison. peer amar-k-kaṇ is resolved into (1) peer kaṇ; (2) amar-k-kaṇ; the first is a pappa-i-t-ṭokai; the second a vinai-i-t-ṭokai. *pavaḷa vaay* as one unit and peer amar-k-kaṇ as another unit and *porroṭi* as a third unit from one coordi-

nate construction. There is the conjunctive -um preceded by the case sign -ai and succeeded by the predicate word 'uṭaiya.' The whole becomes one unit and takes the word 'damsel' at the end and behaves like one noun.

When going back to the original structure from which by transformation, the compound is arrived at, one may find that at the deeper level there are sometimes non-idiomatic usages found. Idiomatic usages etc., are constraints at the surface level which varying from language to language filters, in different ways, the words formed at the deeper level. These being language particular should not be applied to the deeper structure which is language universal.

One such point is raised in the course of the controversy about the theory of compounds. Ceenaavaraiyar holds that it is only for the purpose of understanding the compound one brings in the words not in the compound; but that those words were not there originally, to be deleted later, the meaning being suggested not by deletion but by the very force of compounding (T.C.416 - Commentary). Of course, one has to guard against the implication that the commentators had the same views about the deep structure, surface structure and transformation as we have now, whenever we use these for explaining the views of those ancient commentators in modern terms. They are however aware of the formal compound level and the meaning level. The meaning level is brought in separately only for the purpose of understanding the compound from an analytical point of view and this does not exist as a prior level in reality.

This is Ceenaavaraiyar's contention. But the other commentators hold that there is a meaning level which is also a phrase level and the compound arises by deletion (transformation). They do not specifically mention transposition. In vinai-t-tokai, Naccinaarkkiniyar speaks of the first word - a root - being really a participial noun having the force of a relative participle as elsewhere (T.C. 415 commentary). Caaṭṭan, Kariyan 'Caaṭṭan' is black may occur as kariyan Caṭṭan "the dark Caaṭṭan and then it may be taken as standing for kariya Caaṭṭan, "the dark Caaṭṭan". This kind of transposition of words is there in the old grammar, though not explained in terms of transformation. But it is significant that Naccinaarkkiniyar and others do not specifically point out this in their explanation of compounds. Ceenaavaraiyar to justify his position, refers to a suutra in Tolkaappiyam (suutra 94) where it is said in the expansion of a compound denoting kinship consisting of a noun in the human category and a kinship term - Caṭṭan makan, "son of Caṭṭan" the genitive case sign -atu is lost and instead -ku comes in. Ceenaavaraiyar's point is that this keṭṭal or loss is a figurative usage. -atu being ungrammatical even at that stage could not have been there to be changed into -ku. What is meant is that latter for explanatory purpose it is assumed and replaced by -ku. Therefore what he calls the explanatory stage cannot be prior to the compounding stage. He also points out that there are certain compounds which are considered by Tolkaappiyar himself as compounds which cannot be separated in specific terms and which should be taken as a kind of maruuu - a kind of telescoping of words. For instance, in the vinai-t-tokai the first word, the root and a verbal noun may mean any one of three tenses. For instance kol yoanai may be kollum yaanai or kongra yaanai;

if so how to specifically separate them as two words. This is pointed out by Ceenaavaraiyar that it is at the explanatory stage the words could be specifically split and not earlier. Ceenaavaraiyar refers to the analysis of a word into words for purposes of explanation even by Sanskrit grammarians. eg. vanṭaan = varuṭalai-c-ceyṭaan.

Naccinaarkkiniyar points out that Ceenaavaaiyar has missed the force of the words 'keṭa', "lost" used by Tolkaappiyar. With reference to the case signs-āṭu, for instance in a phrase Caaṭṭanaṭu, keṭuṭal must refer to a prior stage. That is what we will call the deeper level. When it is transformed into these surface level the idiomatic constraints come into play when-āṭu is lost and replaced by -ku whenever the genitive case sign is attached to the nouns in the human category.

The compounds are exocentric or endocentric. Exocentric is anmol-i-ṭ-ṭokai. The endocentric are either subordinate or coordinate. In subordinate construction there will be only binary division-the unit being split into two, each of which can be split into two and so on. But in the coordinate construction there can be multinary division-more than two units are conjoined. This distinction is in the mind of Tolkaappiyar; and the commentators point out this under ummai-ṭ-ṭokai. In other compounds even though there may be more than two words, they have to be reduced to two units, the attribute and the head. But in coordinate compound there can be more than two units conjoined. At the compounding level the singular ending is lost in the case of preceding words and the singular ending is replaced by plural ending in the

case of the last word. Kapilan um Parāṇan um Kapila Parāṇar. Here also the original stage with the singular endings is distinguished from the compound stage where the plural ending is introduced.

Really according to the ancient grammarians there is only one distinction—that between the coordinate compound and the rest which may be called subordinate compounds. The latter are further subdivided into casal, verbal, attributive and comparative because of the different ways in which they are formed in terms of deletion etc., The exocentric compounds have these kinds of compound as the base. There is a meaning level and compound level distinguished irrespective of the question of priority which alone is in dispute between the commentators.

3. Treatment of compounds in Nannuul

Pavaṇṭi is the author of Nannuul. He is a Jain belonging to the Naṇḍigapa, one of the Jain sects. He wrote this popular grammar during the turning of the thirteenth century. He follows Tolkaappiyam as interpreted by Ilam-puuraṇar, the first known commentator on Tolkaappiyam. In this section I shall briefly discuss the views expressed by Pavaṇṭi. His suutras on compounds are found in the chapter called poṭuviyal in collaṭikaaram (Suutras 361 to 373).

3.1. Definition of compounds

In suutra 361 he gives the definition of compounds as two or more words i.e., noun+noun or noun+verb which combine together after the deletion of suffixes in the meaning

of case etc., and function as single units. It could be seen thus he follows the school of authors who explain that the deletion of the suffixes is the criterion for the formation of compounds. We know Ilamppuuraṇar is of this view. One could see here the influence of Iḷampuuraṇar on Pavaṇanti.

3.2. Number of compounds

In suutra 362, he gives the number of compounds as six viz., the casal compound, the verbal compound, the compound of quality, the compound of involving comparison, the coordinate compound, and the bahuvrihi or anmolī-ṭ-ṭokai compound following Tolkaappiyam.

3.2. Explanation of compounds

3.2.1. Casal compound

The casal compound is explained by him in suutra 363 as the one which does not contain overtly the casal suffixes. This is also in accordance with Iḷampuuraṇar.

3.22. Verbal compounds

His explanation of vinai-ṭ-ṭokai is again based on Iḷampuuraṇar's view. Pavaṇanti explains that "the tenseless relative participles are vinai-ṭ-ṭokais" (suutra 364). This view of taking the first member of the compound as peyar eccam i.e., relative participle has been discussed at length in the previous chapter. Iḷampuuraṇar and Naccinaarkkiniyar are of this view.

3.2.3 *Pappu-t-tokai* - compounds of quality

He points out that there are two types of pappu-t-tokai (suutra 365) viz., (1) the compound where the suffixes explaining the qualities are deleted and (2) the compound where two nouns combine on one or the same meaning. Here again he follows in toto Iłampuurañar.

3.2.4. Compound of Comparison

Uvama-t-tokai is explained by Pavañanti as a compound which does not contain the particle of comparison (suutra 366). Iłampuurañar also gives the same explanation.. In addition Pavañanti gives a list of particles of comparison which are deleted in the process of derivation, (suutra 367):

3.2.5. Coordinate compounds

Coordinate compounds are formed by deleting the particle -um which denotes the coordinate construction. These compounds are generally formed on the basis of the following semantic aspects. (1) enqal "counting", (2) etuttal "weighing", (3) mukatthal "measuring", (4) niitthal "measuring of length" (suutra 368).

3.2.6 *anmol-i-t-tokai* or *bahuvriihi* compound

The sixth type of compound viz., bahuvriihi compound is formed on the basis of the other five types of compounds enumerated and explained already. Tolkaappiyar has given only three types of compounds for the formation of "anmol-i-

tokai'. Ilampuurañar has included the other two also and this view is followed by Pavañanti (suutra 369).

3.2.7. *Importance of meaning*

There is another suutra (370) in which he explains as to where the importance of meaning lies. Except for the change of technical terms the ideas are same as found in Tolkaappiyam.

3.2.8. *Morphophonemic changes and compounds*

The importance of morphophonemic rules in the interpretation of compounds is explained in suutra 371. This is again an adaptation of Ilampuurañar's explanation. When two nouns combine together two changes are possible. In one case the plosive of the second noun may double. This indicates the location. In the other case instead of doubling, the final nasal of the first word may become the homorganic nasal of the following plosive.

Examples

For (1) Vañuka+kañña ... Vañuka-kaññan

“Kaññan who belonged to Vañuka country”

For (2) Vañukan+Kaññan ... Vañuka-ñ-kaññan

“Kaññan who belongs to the Vañuka community”

3.2.9. Coordinate compounds

The idea of Tolkaappiyar that the coordinate compound will end in plural is repeated as suutra 372 by Pavaṇṭi.

3.2.10. Ambiguous compounds

There is a suutra (373) which deals with the ambiguous compounds. According to Pavaṇṭi that these compounds, all of them are casal compounds, could be expanded into different deep structures where they will show different casal relations i.e., from the 2nd case to the 7th case. For example the compound teyva vaṇakkam can be expanded either as teyvattai vaṇankum vaṇakkam "the worshipping of deity" or teyvattukku vaṇakkam "the worship to the deity". Tolkaappiyar also deals with these ambiguous constructions in his chapter called Veerrumai mayankiyal. Thus it will be seen that Pavaṇṭi follows Tolkaappiyam closely as interpreted by Ilampuuraṇar.

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